

MÉMOIRES DE
LA SOCIÉTÉ ROYALE
DU CANADA

SECTION I

Littérature, histoire, archéologie, sociologie, économie politique,
et sujets connexes, en français

TROISIÈME SÉRIE—TOME XLVIII—SECTION I

SÉANCE DE JUIN 1954



TRANSACTIONS OF
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OF CANADA

SECTION II

Literature, History, Archaeology, Sociology, Political Economy,
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THIRD SERIES—VOLUME XLVIII—SECTION II

MEETING OF JUNE, 1954

2

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Souvenirs du Manitoba

GABRIELLE ROY, M.S.R.C.

MON enfance au Manitoba fut enveloppée d'une sécurité profonde. Sans doute nous eûmes à nous armer d'ingéniosité pour conserver notre langue, — les groupements canadiens-français de l'Ouest ne se sont pas maintenus sans épreuves ni sacrifices, — néanmoins ce que je me rappelle le mieux des premières années de ma vie à Saint-Boniface, c'est une impression de sécurité : de cette sécurité que donne à la vie un passé entretenu par des récits, des souvenirs, par un ordre social et moral éprouvé. Tout cela nos parents ou nos grands-parents l'avaient apporté du Québec. En des pays neufs, entre des horizons nouveaux et si vastes qu'ils étaient, comme les horizons de la mer, d'un attrait irrésistible, nos parents gardaient toutes les coutumes des villages d'où ils venaient. En somme, c'était la vie de la paroisse que nous vivions sur les bords de la rivière Rouge et un peu partout dans la plaine où se trouvaient des villages assez importants de Canadiens français. Saint-Boniface menait alors une existence que j'imagine très semblable à celle d'une petite ville du Québec, de population à peu près égale à cette époque. Les gens en place, l'élite comme nous disions, et elle était, tout comme dans la vieille province, de profession libérale, — rares encore chez nous étaient les gens qui entendaient faire de l'argent, — les gens marquants : professeurs, prêtres, juges, avocats, notaires, médecins, donnaient le ton. Les distinctions sociales étaient assez recherchées, les conventions sévères, les discours nombreux, mais notre société était humanisée par des souvenirs véritablement affectueux de la vieille province. Je pense que nous avions au Manitoba en ce temps-là une nostalgie du Québec telle que les colons français restés au Canada après la capitulation durent en éprouver pour la France. Le plus beau voyage de nos gens était toujours vers le Québec. En fait, le cœur était tellement porté à embellir tout ce qui venait de cette province qu'il devenait parfois dangereux pour la réalité de la confronter avec tant de souvenirs émus.

Pourtant, lorsque je vins pour la première fois dans la province de Québec et que j'allai dans le région où ma mère était née; quand je découvris ces côtes de Saint-Alphonse, cette étroite rivière Assomption, cette terre caillouteuse dont la seule douceur était bien la petite érablière, je ne fus pas libre malgré tout de la voir autrement que par les yeux de ma mère, si grande avait été sa passion pour ce petit coin de pays. Du reste, dans le silence encore si profond de ces collines, j'ai pu entendre

le même bruit d'eau, la même chanson du courant de la rivière dont ma mère, au bout de cinquante années, se souvenait parfaitement.

Telle était notre vie à Saint-Boniface, pénétrée de souvenirs et par eux, je pense, parfois comme engourdie. Je me rappelle : on entendait presque toujours dans un coin ou l'autre de la ville tinter la cloche d'un couvent ou d'une chapelle. Aujourd'hui encore, un tintement de cloche au loin éveille en moi la vision d'une petite ville de maisons en bois, silencieuse, presque déserte, sauf aux heures des offices religieux; alors je revois les trottoirs se couvrir de gens qui tous prennent la même direction; je revois une ville entière convergeant vers le portique de la cathédrale.

Il n'y avait pas chez nous de grands magasins, presque pas d'industrie; il y avait bien une petite gare perdue au bout de la ville, mais il me semble qu'il n'en partait ou n'y arrivait jamais qu'un tout petit train local, très peu connu. La population travailleuse de chez nous se retrouvait pour ainsi dire entière, aux mêmes heures, dans un tramway jaune qui la transportait à Winnipeg où presque tous nos gens avaient leur gagne-pain, soit dans les magasins à rayons, dans les banques, mais encore plus fréquemment ils étaient casés dans les emplois civils. Nous étions une ville de collets-blancs, pas très riches, dignes, soucieux de l'apparence. . . et pleins de courage. Chez nous, à Saint-Boniface, les édifices importants étaient le juniorat, le collège, le couvent, un hospice, un orphelinat, l'hôpital, des écoles; les écoles furent toujours la fierté de Saint-Boniface, de grandes écoles modernes, coûteuses, qui ruinèrent pour ainsi dire la ville. Mais n'est-ce pas du moins une des belles façons de se ruiner !

Il y avait bien une dizaine d'ordres religieux établis alors dans notre ville. Il y eut même un petit monastère de Carmélites, mais la sévérité de leur règle — et les religieuses entendaient l'observer parfaitement dans un climat aussi dur que le nôtre — nous causa à tous, je me souviens, une très vive inquiétude. A travers un hiver particulièrement rigoureux, nous nous demandions sans cesse si les pauvres femmes n'allaient pas geler dans leur cloître mal chauffé, à peine habitable; enfin, le petit monastère fut abandonné.

Toujours, par les trottoirs de notre ville, il me semble que l'on voyait passer des enfants menés deux par deux à la promenade par des religieuses dont on entendait les chapelets cliqueter. Au-dessus de la rivière Rouge aux eaux brunâtres et lourdes s'envolait l'appel des cloches de la cathédrale, cependant que les mouettes des lacs — et peut-être venaient-elles de la Baie d'Hudson, car nous étions, par toutes sortes de cours d'eau, reliés à la mer — que les petites mouettes grises volaient presque parmi les tombes du cimetière qui s'avançaient tout près des berges. Je ne sais pas si les mouettes viennent encore si loin à l'intérieur entourer le clocher de Saint-Boniface. Leur vol presque silencieux, leur faible cri quand le temps était à la pluie sont de mes souvenirs les plus tenaces. J'aimais bien, je crois, qu'elles viennent jusqu'au milieu d'un continent nous environner d'un sentiment du large, d'une espèce d'angoisse des îles. Car nous étions

bien comme dans une île, nous de Saint-Boniface, assez seuls dans l'océan de la plaine et de toutes parts entourés d'inconnu.

Après l'impression de sécurité, je crois que ce que j'ai le plus fortement éprouvé durant mon enfance, c'est l'attrait de l'inconnu à deux pas de nous. Nous n'avions en ce temps là, comme aujourd'hui, qu'un pont à traverser pour changer de monde en mettant le pied dans Winnipeg. Winnipeg, alors, c'était surtout l'avenue Portage et encore plus le Main Street, si chargé d'inconnu qu'il devint pour moi comme la première image de l'univers. . . et qu'il ouvrit aussi mes yeux au drame de la surpopulation et des grandes immigrations européennes. Dans Winnipeg passaient, avant d'être avalés à l'ouest par des étendues de terre arable, d'étranges cortèges d'hommes blonds aux yeux bleus, aux grandes moustaches, de femmes chargées de ballots, parfois de familles entières en une petite file qui s'étirait. Ces gens marchaient dans les larges rues l'un derrière l'autre, comme s'ils eussent été engagés en un défilé de montagnes, et c'est à quoi longtemps on reconnaissait d'abord chez nous les étrangers . . . je veux dire à cette façon comme timide de parcourir la ville.

Mon père, qui était agent colonisateur, avait établi beaucoup de ces gens dans la Saskatchewan, surtout des Slaves. A la maison, j'entendais parler de « petits Ruthènes », de Doukhobors, de Mennonites. Ceux-ci, des Anabaptistes, avaient traversé presque tous les pays d'Europe et, partout persécutés, ils venaient dans notre pays chercher avant tout la liberté de poursuivre leur rêve de pacifisme. Aujourd'hui encore, il me paraît singulier que c'est dans notre petite ville si grave, refermée sur elle-même et parfois somnolente, que j'ai appris combien le monde est grand, varié, combien la vérité offre des aspects dissemblables aux divers groupes humains. Sur les bords de l'Assiniboine, à une vingtaine de milles seulement de Winnipeg, essaimée en petites colonies de cent personnes environ, vivait une secte encore plus curieuse, les Huttérites chez qui aucune possession personnelle n'est tolérée, aucune distinction de fortune possible, car tous se partagent également les fruits du travail collectif, et ils forment une espèce de communauté religieuse et familiale, tous habillés d'un costume sévère, réunis par une cloche pour manger dans une salle commune ou prier ensemble; ensuite chacun va à la tâche qui lui est assignée; ainsi il y a chez ces gens le frère berger, l'apiculteur, le porcher, le maître de la ferme et une espèce de frère portier qui s'occupe des relations avec l'extérieur; les femmes, en équipe, font la cuisine et les travaux ménagers; les plus vieilles, devenues inaptes à d'autres besognes, en de petits clos en plein air gardent les jeunes enfants. L'âge de la retraite venu, chacun des Huttérites se repose aux frais de la communauté; il y a une dizaine d'années du moins, ces gens n'acceptaient aucun secours de l'Etat ni même la pension de vieillesse. Ils entendaient pourvoir eux-mêmes aux besoins de leurs frères âgés ou impotents. Mais j'ai mis des années à découvrir l'existence de ces colonies établies tout près de chez nous, tant les Huttérites menaient et mènent une vie secrète et fière.

Pourtant, l'intense variété humaine qui nous entourait était le plus souvent aisément accessible. Non loin de notre maison coulait une paresseuse petite rivière. . . la Seine. . . Un pont à traverser. . . une passerelle plutôt, précaire et branlante. . . et, du coup, on était chez des gens gras et blonds, buveurs de bière, qui, eux, très volontiers se faisaient marchands, marchands de grains, de moulées. . . Ils furent les premières gens de notre ville à prospérer rapidement. Chez eux, les prêches étaient faits par un capucin barbu en langue flamande. . . Ce côté de notre petite ville, nous l'appelions : le côté Belgique.

Quelquefois, ma mère m'offrait une très jolie promenade dans un petit bateau où l'on voyageait de Winnipeg jusqu'à Selkirk par la rivière Rouge... Peu après avoir quitté la ville, les berges de la rivière n'étant pas très éloignées, ni très élevées, nous découvrons une véritable petite Ukraine. Les bulbes orientales d'une chapelle dans les champs nous apparaissaient, ensuite des puits à long balancier et, enfin, d'étroites maisons basses chaulées tous les printemps et dont la blancheur exquise et aussi des géraniums rouges en pots aux fenêtres se reflétaient dans l'eau. C'était un paysage placide, serein; on ne pouvait deviner au premier abord quel labeur écrasant lui avait donné ce caractère si tranquille. Mais des femmes, sous un soleil ardent, les cheveux couverts d'un fichu blanc, parfois levaient la tête des sillons gras lorsque le petit bateau de croisière passait, et elles nous regardaient, nous qui n'avions rien à faire que de nous promener, d'un long regard étonné.

Plus tard, j'ai entendu une société de folklore ukrainienne de Winnipeg dans les chansons de son pays; c'étaient des chants bondissants qui devenaient tout à coup tristes et pleins d'ennui. Ils exprimaient, non seulement la vie des petites colonies ukrainiennes de la rivière Rouge, mais l'espace démesuré, les oasis que forment les villages dans la plaine nue, cette faim de contact humain qui à tous était propre. Et c'est ce chant d'Ukraine qui arrive à me dire si bien, aujourd'hui, ce qu'était alors le Manitoba !

Allions-nous passer des vacances à Notre-Dame de Lourdes, à quelque quatre-vingts milles de Winnipeg et, du train, nous descendions dans un village authentiquement français, avec ça et là, de grandes maisons dont la galerie était à l'étage; souvent l'étable était reliée à l'habitation comme en Auvergne par une petite cour dallée ou de ciment; les gens faisaient pousser dans leur jardin des légumes ou des fleurs inconnus chez nous : il y avait parfois contre la porte une paire de sabots. . . Je me rappelle une véritable atmosphère de maison paysanne française où on était économe à l'excès, très têtue, très individualiste. . . et extraordinairement travailleur.

A Winnipeg, nous avions, et il y est encore, l'immense théâtre Walker — le plus vaste au Canada, je pense — avec d'énormes lustres, des rampes dorées, d'épais rideaux de scène en velours cramoiisi, des loges et balcons sur balcons. On avait vu grand à Winnipeg à la belle époque; une magnifique folie de grandeur s'était emparée de cette ville qui voulut les rues les plus larges au Canada, son propre port de mer qu'elle eut à Churchill,

qui voulut aussi être et qui fut la première en musique et dans l'art théâtral. Lady Walker, qui donna une fortune pour la construction du théâtre, rêva peut-être de retrouver, dans la ville du blé, un autre théâtre Old Vic. En tout cas, l'énorme palais des songes a vu défiler bien des fois Hamlet, Lear fou et vieilli, Macbeth. C'est là le premier grand choc esthétique de ma vie. Les bonnes Sœurs nous avaient emmenées — toute une ribambelle de fillettes — en matinée, entendre le *Marchand de Venise*. Nous avions un singulier programme d'études en ce temps-là. Nous devions étudier plusieurs matières en français; les Sœurs mettaient un grand dévouement à nous les enseigner, ajoutant une heure ou deux par jour gratuitement au temps consacré officiellement à l'étude du français; ainsi nous arrivions à apprendre pas mal d'histoire sainte, la littérature française telle qu'assez singulièrement résumée par nos manuels de ce temps-là, l'histoire du Canada; par ailleurs, nous avions à suivre le programme établi par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique du Manitoba et ainsi à lire Thomas Hardy, George Eliot, Milton, Shakespeare et, plus tard, Keats, Shelley, Coleridge. . . A ce propos, je ne peux me défendre d'évoquer un instant la mère directrice de l'école des filles à Saint-Boniface, une femme très souple, fine mouche s'il en fût jamais, d'ailleurs très avancée, très sincère dans ses méthodes d'éducation. Fêtons-nous au couvent quelque dignitaire ecclésiastique, alors la grande salle de réception se couvrait de tapis rouges, des fougères étaient posées sur des socles, et les portraits des archevêques de l'Ouest, placés bien en évidence sur les murs, nous entouraient. Tout le jour, nous parlions le langage de la survivance, de la cause canadienne-française. Mais, quelque temps plus tard, une autre fête nous amenait la visite des messieurs du Board of Education du Manitoba. Alors la mère directrice faisait descendre les portraits des archevêques; les Pères de la Confédération prenaient leur place; nous avions appris pour l'occasion des compliments très seyants, des chants appropriés; tout ce jour-là, il n'était question que d'allégeance britannique, de loyauté à notre souverain et d'un Canada s'étendant d'un océan à un autre océan. Ces messieurs du Board of Education portaient enchantés; ils saluaient très bas notre mère directrice en l'appelant : Madame.

Donc, elle nous avait envoyées ce jour-là assister à une pièce de Shakespeare. Nous étions si haut juchées au dernier balcon que les acteurs de Stratford on Avon ne nous paraissaient pas très grands, du moins par la taille. Mais Shylock au moment de poser sa troublante question, renversa la tête en arrière; il joua alors véritablement pour le paradis. « Hath not a Jew eyes ? nous demanda-t-il. . . Dimensions, senses, affections, passions ? If you prick us do we not bleed ? . . . » J'étais prête à lui crier que oui, bien sûr. . . Un superbe Shylock, malgré tout sympathique, inspirait peut-être à quelque enfant, au dernier balcon, une inquiétude sur ce qu'il faut entendre par les étrangers.

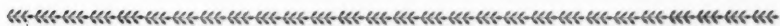
Telle était notre éducation, peut-être singulière, pas du tout mauvaise à ce qu'il me semble.

Nous faisons aussi beaucoup de théâtre en français à Saint-Boniface,

et presque tous nos spectacles furent joués à Winnipeg. Que d'animateurs, que de gens chez nous totalement dévoués à l'épanouissement du goût, de l'expression artistique ! Monsieur Marius Benoist montait le poème de Mistral, Mireille; il dirigeait une chorale; il groupait des instrumentistes et formait chez nous un petit orchestre symphonique. Notre ville aimait d'une grande ferveur la musique, les pageants, les spectacles. Un Canadien d'origine flamande y avait fondé la fanfare La Vérendrye qui jouait fièrement par nos rues des marches entraînantes les jours de fête. Monsieur et Madame Arthur Boutal créèrent chez nous un cercle d'art dramatique, le Cercle Molière, auquel ils donnèrent leur vie. Je pense que c'est une véritable providence qui a conduit ces deux Français, lui de Bergerac, elle, une Bretonne des environs de Brest, jusque chez nous, pour vivre parmi nous, y gagner leur vie et ensuite employer chaque minute de loisir, sans profit personnel, à former, à guider une petite troupe d'acteurs amateurs. Sous leur conduite nous avons passé des hivers entiers, soir après soir, à répéter dans une salle de classe, dans la maison de l'un ou de l'autre, même dans un magasin désaffecté, des pièces du répertoire français. Et il arriva que le Cercle Molière à deux reprises obtint le trophée français au Festival Dramatique du Canada. Ce n'est pas que je veuille donner à cet événement une importance exagérée; tout de même, il témoigna d'une expression française bien vivante au Manitoba, qui commençait à apporter sa part au mouvement culturel de tout le pays; et ce qui est aussi très beau, c'est qu'il nous valut une amitié accrue de nos concitoyens de Winnipeg, lesquels firent grand cas de cette petite victoire et en furent peut-être encore plus fiers que nous ne l'étions nous-mêmes.

Quand je revois le Manitoba, par le pensée, après toutes ces années, ce que je retrouve le mieux, c'est une générosité de sentiments comme tout naturellement alliée à l'abondance des moissons, à la riche variété humaine de cette province et à l'espace. Les ciels sont immenses au Manitoba. Peu à peu ils nous ont façonnés un peu différemment de ce que nous aurions pu être ailleurs. Ce ciel immense nous a invités à connaître tout ce qui nous entoure; il invite à aller voir, toujours, ce qui est au bout de l'horizon. C'est peut-être pourquoi tant de nous avons quitté le Manitoba. . . mais aussi pourquoi cette province nous a si profondément marqués.

S'il est quelque chose du temps perdu que je voudrais retrouver, c'est bien l'immensité du ciel et aussi, peut-être, à l'heure où le soleil descend, certaine petite route droite du Manitoba, qui partage des champs de blé comme sans limite. . . Mais ce que je voudrais le plus retrouver de ce temps, je le sais bien, c'est avant tout un sentiment d'exaltation, ce mouvement de l'âme par lequel, un instant, elle semble s'accorder à l'infini.



Les Etablissements français à l'ouest du lac Supérieur : esquisse de géographie humaine

DONATIEN FRÉMONT, M.S.R.C.

LE français fut, avec l'expédition La Vérendrye, la première langue européenne parlée à l'ouest des Grands Lacs et il y garda la prépondérance jusqu'à l'entrée du Manitoba dans la Confédération. Le premier établissement français dans cet immense territoire remonte aux environs de 1775. Il se forma à l'endroit même où nous nous trouvons, au confluent des rivières Rouge et Assiniboine, alors connu sous le nom de la « Fourche ». A vrai dire, les quelques Blancs et Métis groupés là en ordre un peu dispersé — coureurs de bois, « gens libres », employés anciens ou actuels des Compagnies de la Baie d'Hudson et du Nord-Ouest — devaient garder assez longtemps encore leurs habitudes semi-nomades. C'est à l'intention de ces premiers occupants du sol manitobain que Miles Macdonell lut en français une partie du document officiel, lors de la prise de possession des terrains concédés à lord Selkirk. Dès l'origine du peuplement de l'Ouest pour les fins de colonisation, deux races et deux langues se trouvent donc en présence sur les bords de la rivière Rouge.

L'histoire de Saint-Boniface ne commence réellement qu'en 1818, avec les abbés Provencher et Dumoulin. Ces premiers missionnaires sont les premiers instituteurs. Les mieux doués parmi les enfants métis sont dirigés immédiatement vers l'étude du latin : et voilà jetées les bases du Collège de Saint-Boniface, qui sera le premier de l'Ouest canadien. Plus tard, Angélique Nolin ouvrira la première école de filles. Puis, les efforts conjugués de l'évêque Provencher et du gouverneur Simpson réussiront à créer la première école technique, où deux tisserandes expertes de la province de Québec enseigneront à filer et à tisser aux femmes de la Rivière-Rouge. Avec l'arrivée des Sœurs Grises et des missionnaires Oblats, Saint-Boniface va bientôt réunir les premiers éléments de ces institutions scolaires, religieuses et hospitalières qui lui donnent aujourd'hui son cachet propre.

Jusqu'à l'entrée du Manitoba dans la Confédération, en dehors de la modeste ville épiscopale, il n'existe que quelques centres de mission : la Prairie-du-Cheval-Blanc (Saint-François-Xavier), Baie-Saint-Paul (Saint-Eustache), Saint-Lazare, Saint-Norbert, la Pointe-des-Chênes. La population de langue française a été jusqu'alors presque entièrement métisse. Mais la province de Québec envoie ses premiers colons, et l'on voit se

fonder les paroisses de Lorette, Sainte-Agathe, Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Letteller, Saint-Pierre, La Broquerie.

Ce mouvement de migration du Québec vers les terres neuves de l'Ouest fut essentiellement l'œuvre du clergé et s'appuyait sur l'organisation paroissiale. A la naissance du Manitoba, Franco-catholiques et Anglo-protestants y étaient de force numérique à peu près égale, avec une légère avance en faveur des premiers. Ceux-ci avaient l'ambition légitime de maintenir leurs positions, en tirant tout le parti possible de l'apport fourni par leurs compatriotes de l'Est. La vieille province disposait d'un surplus de population qui prenait fâcheusement la route des Etats-Unis. Il s'agissait simplement de détourner ce courant au profit du Manitoba. L'archevêque de Saint-Boniface s'y employa de son mieux et fit appel à ses confrères de la vallée du Saint-Laurent, qui ne refusèrent pas leur concours. Mais une partie assez notable des curés québécois se montrèrent hostiles au mouvement. Ils se laissèrent influencer par un journaliste à courte vue, qui s'entêta à propager la légende ridicule d'après laquelle Mgr Taché lui-même aurait déconseillé à ses compatriotes de venir au Manitoba. Les Canadiens français de l'Est continuèrent donc d'émigrer en masse aux Etats-Unis et ceux du Manitoba furent vite submergés par l'immigration anglo-saxonne qui les réduisit à une faible minorité. S'ils avaient réussi à maintenir dans une certaine mesure l'heureux équilibre des débuts, l'histoire de la province et de tout le pays en eût été modifiée. C'est l'opinion qu'exprimait, en 1937, un membre éminent de notre Société, Stephen Leacock :

Early Manitoba was bilingual. Its Parliament... spoke and printed both languages. Its schools were French and English... From this joint heritage the course of history dispossessed them... Can one wonder that the French feel, one must not say a bitterness, but a wishful regret for their lost Northwest. And suppose we had had it and shared it on equal terms, with a bilingual culture to match the older East, it might seem perhaps a more balanced Canada, a more real unity¹.

L'élément indigène de la population de langue française, composé de Métis anciens rouliers et chasseurs des plaines, vint lentement à la pratique agricole. Au contraire, ce fut l'appât des terres gratuites qui attira les colons du Québec et de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, aussi bien que les immigrants français, belges et suisses. Cet apport d'outre-mer, bien que numériquement faible, ne fut nullement négligeable.

Parmi les premiers Français d'Europe intéressés à l'Ouest canadien, il y eut un bon nombre de représentants de l'ancienne aristocratie, qui entretenaient le vague espoir d'y redorer leur blason, tout en menant la vie de grands propriétaires terriens. On ne s'en souvient plus guère aujourd'hui, mais les Français ont jeté dans des entreprises agricoles, au Manitoba et dans les autres provinces de la Prairie, des millions, qui ont d'ailleurs beaucoup plus profité au pays qu'à eux-mêmes. Dès 1883, le jeune duc de

¹Stephen Leacock, *My Discovery of the West* (Boston, 1937), p. 156.

Blacas et un autre Parisien, le comte de Simencourt, fondèrent des ranches sur les rives du lac Manitoba, à Saint-Laurent. Un quart de siècle plus tard, un petit contingent de Bretons s'installera dans les mêmes parages et, à force de labeur, y prospérera. A l'origine des centres actuels de Saint-Malo et de Fannystelle se rattache l'histoire plus ou moins romanesque d'une opulente comtesse qui voulut consacrer une partie de sa fortune à un projet de colonisation. L'élément aristocratique joua aussi son rôle dans la région du lac Dauphin, avec la fondation de Sainte-Rose.

La colonisation de l'Ouest par les Canadiens français du Québec et des Etats-Unis, moins spectaculaire mais plus efficace, fut l'œuvre de prêtres et de religieux désignés par l'Episcopat. En France, des ecclésiastiques bénévoles prirent aussi la tête du mouvement. Il faut signaler entre tous un prêtre lorrain, l'abbé Jean Gaire, fondateur de Grande-Clarière et de plusieurs autres centres. Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes et Saint-Claude furent l'œuvre des Chanoines réguliers de l'Immaculée-Conception, un ordre religieux du Jura. Les descendants des premiers colons y forment encore la majorité. Et en parlant d'établissements agricoles français, il ne faut pas oublier la Trappe de Saint-Norbert, dont tous les moines vinrent, à l'origine, d'une institution similaire d'Anjou.

Les Français ont déjà tenu une grande place dans ce bref aperçu historique et nous les retrouverons encore. Ils ne détiennent cependant pas le premier rôle dans le domaine en question. S'ils devancèrent souvent les autres, dans la plupart des cas ils eurent besoin des renforts canadiens pour assurer à leurs faibles noyaux une vie française permanente. Et ce fut le paysan français qui s'implanta dans l'Ouest.

La fondation de tous les centres mentionnés jusqu'ici — si l'on excepte les premières missions du temps de la Rivière-Rouge — s'échelonne sur la période des trente dernières années du XIX^e siècle. Le gros afflux de l'immigration est encore à venir; mais, en ce qui concerne les établissements de langue française du Manitoba, les cadres sont déjà constitués dans les grandes lignes. D'ici la première Grande Guerre, on verra cependant encore l'érection officielle d'une dizaine de paroisses : Le Pas, Laurier, Sainte-Amélie, Mariapolis, Aubigny, Thibaultville, Elie, Saint-Georges, Isle-de-Chênes, Lac-du-Bonnet, et je m'en tiens aux plus importantes.

En Saskatchewan, comme au Manitoba, les premiers établissements furent ceux de Métis français. La mission de Qu'Appelle (aujourd'hui Lebreton) remonte à 1868. Deux ans plus tard, une quarantaine de familles, voulant se rapprocher des derniers troupeaux de bisons, quittèrent Saint-François-Xavier et Pembina pour se fixer à la Coulée-Chapelle, non loin de la frontière du Montana. Cette ancienne région de la Montagne de Bois compte trois centres français principaux : Willow-Bunch (primitivement Saint-Ignace-des-Saules); Ponteix, fondé par un prêtre d'Auvergne; Gravelbourg, siège d'un évêché depuis 1930. On trouve aussi dans le même territoire : Redvers, Coderre, Dollard, Ferland, Frenchville, Lac Pelletier, Laflèche, Lisieux, Mazenod, Saint-Victor, Val-Marie.

Les vallées de la Qu'Appelle et de la Pipestone connurent une fièvre de colonisation aristocratique contemporaine de celle du Manitoba. La paroisse actuelle de Saint-Hubert-Mission, près de Whitewood, eut pour premiers colons un groupe brillant de *gentlemen farmers* parmi lesquels se distinguaient un arrière-petit-neveu de Jeanne d'Arc et un arrière-petit-cousin du cardinal de Richelieu. Montmartre eut pour fondateur un Parisien, plus tard conseiller municipal de ce célèbre quartier de la Ville-Lumière. Plus, à l'est, les compatriotes de l'abbé Gaire, débordant les limites du Manitoba, furent les premiers défricheurs à Bellegarde, Cantal, Wauchope, Saint-Antoine de Storthoaks, Dumas, Forget, Wolseley, Mutrie, Sainte-Marthe de Rocanville.

D'autres Métis de la Rivière-Rouge, à partir de 1870, se dirigèrent vers la mission de Saint-Laurent-de-Grandin, sur la Saskatchewan du Sud. Aux lieux historiques de Batoche, de Duck-Lake, de Carleton et de Saint-Louis, des Français et des Canadiens français cultivent maintenant le sol. Ils y ont même ajouté d'autres noms charmants : Bellevue, Bonne-Madone, Domremy. Et un peu à l'est se trouve l'important centre de Saint-Brieux, fondé il y a cinquante ans par de courageux Bretons. Périgord et Saint-Front trahissent suffisamment leur origine. Vonda, Prud'homme et Saint-Denis, autres groupements agricoles où se maintient l'élément canadien-français. Mais il faut renoncer à tout citer.

En Alberta, la formation des établissements de langue française suit la même marche, avec un léger retard. D'anciens officiers venus de France sont parmi les premiers ranchers dans la région à mi-chemin entre Calgary et Edmonton, où des Belges et des Canadiens français les rejoignent. Trochu, Castor, Notre-Dame-de-Savoie, Tinchebray, Chauvin, Pincher Creek datent des premières années du siècle. Il faut noter que plusieurs institutions scolaires et hospitalières transplantées de France à cette époque y ont prospéré, en dépit d'une population en grande majorité anglo-saxonne.

Mais c'est au nord d'Edmonton surtout que se trouve l'élément canadien-français de la province, groupé dans des centres assez homogènes : Saint-Albert, Beaumont, Morinville, Legal, Vimy, Picardville, Lamoureux, Saint-Paul, Lafond, Brosseau, Saint-Edouard, Saint-Vincent, Mallaig, Thérien, Sainte-Lina, Bonnyville, Fort Kent, La Corey, Cold Lake, Plamondon. Dans la région de la Rivière-la-Paix, il faut mentionner encore : McLennan, Falher, Grouard, Donnelly, Girouxville, Jean-Côté, Jousard, Nampa, Spirit River, Tangent.

Franchissons maintenant les montagnes Rocheuses. Sur la carte de la Colombie-Britannique, un grand nombre de noms rappellent l'époque où le français était la langue principale. A la chasse aux fourrures s'adjoignit la chasse à l'or et les Français vinrent y réclamer leur part. Sait-on que le premier journal publié à l'ouest des Grands Lacs fut *Le Courrier de la Nouvelle-Calédonie*, fondé à Victoria en 1858, par un réfugié du Second Empire ? Il précéda de trois mois le *British Colonist*, de la même ville, et de quinze mois le *Nor'wester*, de Fort-Garry. Ce pionnier des journaux de

l'Ouest n'eut qu'une existence très éphémère; mais la petite presse à bras de fabrication française, qui l'avait imprimé, fit une carrière brillante. Elle passa au *British Colonist*, qui eut pour directeur le pittoresque Amor de Cosmos. Ensuite, elle travailla pour le *Caribou Sentinel*, de Barkerville, et pour l'*Inland Sentinel*, de Kamloops, avant de prendre sa retraite après plus d'un demi-siècle de loyaux services.

Peu de ces chercheurs d'or avaient l'étoffe de colon. Il y en eut pourtant quelques-uns dont on retrouve encore les traces. Ainsi, dans la fameuse vallée de l'Okanagan, les premiers à s'établir, en 1859, furent des Français, et les missionnaires Oblats qui les y avaient groupés faisaient la classe aux enfants dans leur propre langue. Vers le même temps, Victoria, puis New Westminster eurent des collèges bilingues tenus par les mêmes religieux. Aujourd'hui, les 42.000 Franco-Canadiens de la Colombie-Britannique sont dispersés un peu partout. Maillardville, sur le Fraser, est la seule localité formant une agglomération française. Elle compte un demi-siècle d'existence et le bruit fait autour de ses écoles, il y a quelques années, montre qu'elle entend rester fidèle à ses traditions. Un signe caractéristique de progrès général et de vitalité, chez l'élément français de cette province, est l'autorisation qu'il a obtenue, dans plusieurs villes, de s'organiser en communautés paroissiales distinctes.

Tous les centres de l'Ouest mentionnés au cours de cette étude ne doivent pas être mis sur un pied égal. Un certain nombre sont intégralement français; d'autres le sont dans une mesure plus ou moins grande. En fait, une partie notable de ces 220.000 Franco-Canadiens vivent en contact presque journalier avec la majorité anglo-saxonne ou autre. On conçoit que préserver leur langue et leurs croyances est une tâche qui demande des efforts constants et de lourds sacrifices. Ils tirent leur force principale de l'organisation paroissiale et de la profession agricole.

La ville de Saint-Boniface possède toutes les institutions propres à l'exercice de son rôle de métropole intellectuelle et religieuse de l'Ouest français. Mais depuis longtemps déjà, son vieux collège ne suffit plus aux besoins de l'éducation secondaire dans les trois provinces de la Prairie; des établissements similaires existent à Gravelbourg, à Edmonton, à Prince-Albert et à Falher. De même, le premier poste français de radio, inauguré à Saint-Boniface en 1946, a été renforcé par trois autres, de manière à atteindre la totalité de la population. Est-il besoin de rappeler que Saint-Boniface est le foyer du fameux Cercle Molière, connu d'un océan à l'autre par ses succès au Festival Dramatique du Canada?

Le distingué professeur et historien A. R. M. Lower, de l'Université Queen's, qualifiait, l'an dernier, le Collège de Saint-Boniface et les autres placés dans les même conditions de « citadels of French culture within dominantly English areas ». Et il ajoutait : « St. Boniface fights a rear-guard action against the omnipresent English and tends to fortify itself within the ancient walls of the Latin philosophy². »

²*Mémoires de la Société royale du Canada*, troisième série, 1953, tome XLVII, sect. II, p. 4.

Ce combat d'arrière-garde en faveur d'un certain idéal de civilisation séculaire, de très bons esprits anglo-saxons l'ont jugé utile, sinon indispensable, pour contrebalancer le choc de l'invasion américaine sous toutes ses formes, qui menace la vraie mentalité canadienne. Mais il est bon de noter que l'enseignement à base classique dispensé par les institutions françaises de l'Ouest ne demeure pas figé dans la formule d'un passé révolu; il s'adapte de plus en plus aux besoins de l'époque et du milieu. L'école d'arts et métiers que vient de s'adjoindre le Collège de Gravelbourg est, à cet égard, très significative et l'on doit en attendre d'heureux résultats.

Depuis que les échanges entre provinces tendent à se multiplier dans toutes les sphères de l'activité humaine, la jeunesse canadienne-française de l'Ouest a pu montrer la mesure de ses capacités. Elle est mieux à même que toute autre de puiser à notre double culture, et ses services sont particulièrement appréciés là où s'impose un personnel bilingue.

Mais il est temps de conclure et je veux laisser ce soin à un représentant de la nouvelle génération de ces Canadiens dont j'ai tenté d'esquisser l'histoire. En février dernier, le jeune député de Sainte-Rose-du-Lac, M. Gildas Molgat, faisait son premier discours à l'Assemblée législative du Manitoba. Les paroles qu'il prononça dans les deux langues traduisent admirablement l'état d'esprit actuel de la population française de l'Ouest. Permettez-moi de vous les citer, sans y joindre aucun commentaire :

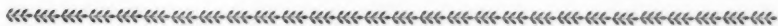
Ma famille se trouvait au nombre des immigrants venus de France en 1890 pour s'établir dans les environs du village de Sainte-Rose. A cause de cette ascendance française, de la diversité raciale de mon arrondissement et du caractère bilingue de notre pays, je tiens à dire ici quelques mots en français. Je suis convaincu que la dualité linguistique et culturelle de notre pays n'est pas une source de faiblesse, mais peut être plutôt une source de force, si on la comprend bien. Elle peut aider à la création d'une nation canadienne bien caractérisée et bien distincte de toute autre.

Passant à sa langue maternelle, M. Molgat a continué :

Je vous prie de ne pas interpréter cet attachement à notre langue originelle comme un manque d'esprit national canadien; tout au contraire, en faisant effort, en persistant à parler les deux langues officielles de notre magnifique pays, nous marquons notre ferme attachement à ses traditions. Il ne convient pas d'y voir un entêtement orgueilleux, ni l'exercice d'un privilège; c'est une fidélité à une tradition vénérable et l'usage d'un droit naturel provenant de l'origine même de la Confédération canadienne.

Ce n'est pas chercher à faire triompher une culture particulière sur une autre; c'est tendre à une culture plus variée, plus riche, plus complète, par l'apport des ressources intellectuelles de deux grands groupes riches de traditions différentes, unis dans le même patriotisme.

Les populations de langue et de traditions françaises disséminées au Manitoba sont fières de leur province, fières aussi de leurs ancêtres, de leur contribution au développement du pays et, en toute loyauté, elles veulent continuer cette œuvre.



Aperçu des premiers peuplements de l'Ouest

GUSTAVE LANCTÔT, M.S.R.C.

LE peuplement de l'Ouest résulte d'une lente et graduelle pénétration au cours de deux siècles. La route en fut ouverte, dès 1634, par Jean Nicolet, qui atteint le lac Michigan en mission politique auprès des indigènes de la région, mais c'est la recherche de la fourrure qui prend la suite et pousse à l'exploration du territoire. D'anonymes coureurs de bois, dont, peut-être, les deux frères Desfosses, parviennent aux rives du lac Supérieur, dès 1649; Radisson y trafique en 1659 et les Français entrent en contact avec les lointains Cristinaux du lac à la Pluie, en 1663, pendant que les jésuites s'établissent, deux ans plus tard, au Sault-Sainte-Marie. De son côté, Dulhut, ou son frère La Tourette, construit le fort du lac Nipigon vers 1678 et reconnaît la région de la Kaministikwia après 1680. La porte de l'Ouest était ouverte.

Quelques années suivent et Jacques de Noyon franchit cette porte et rencontre, en 1688, les Assiniboinés, qui viennent d'au delà du lac à la Pluie. Déjà quelques coureurs de bois font des séjours prolongés parmi les tribus. A son tour, en 1695, Tonty pénétrera jusqu'au pays des Assiniboinés, mais les relations avec les Indiens de la prochaine Prairie demeurent restreintes et sporadiques. Avec la cession de la baie d'Hudson à la Grande-Bretagne (1713), les Français intensifient leur poussée à l'Ouest et Robutel de la Noue rétablit, en 1717, le poste de Kaministikwia et en fait ouvrir un nouveau au lac à la Pluie avec le double but d'accroître la traite des fourrures et de pousser à la découverte de la mer de l'Ouest, qu'on recherche depuis Cartier et Champlain. Mais l'attitude hostile des Indiens, résultant des rivalités et des guerres des diverses tribus, arrête, pendant des années, toute nouvelle progression territoriale, malgré certaines randonnées et quelques raids sans suite dans la moyenne Prairie par d'audacieux aventuriers entre 1720 et 1730.

L'année suivante, avec le triple objectif d'atteindre à la mer de l'Ouest, d'exploiter la traite du milieu et de convertir les indigènes, La Vérendrye et ses fils, accompagnés des premiers missionnaires, commencent l'établissement d'une chaîne de postes : Saint-Pierre (1731), au lac à la Pluie, Saint-Charles (1732) au lac des Bois, Maurepas (1737) au lac Winnipeg, Rouge (1738) au Portage-la-Prairie, Dauphin (1741) au lac Winnipegosis, Bourdon (1743) au lac des Cèdres, et Poskoyac (1743) au confluent des deux branches de la Saskatchewan. Prenant la suite, de Niverville fait construire, en 1751, le Fort La Jonquière sur la rivière de l'Arc. Au cours de cette période de pénétration, des coureurs de bois circulent et séjournent

dans l'immense territoire des trois provinces des Prairies. Pendant la guerre de Sept Ans, qui pèse lourdement sur l'économie du Canada, un certain nombre d'entre eux s'adaptent à la vie des Indiens, pendant que d'autres s'incorporent à l'une ou l'autre des tribus de la région, processus d'assimilation qui commence d'opérer dans le dernier quart du XVII^e siècle.

A la suite de la conquête du pays, l'afflux de traiteurs britanniques, venant de l'Angleterre ou des colonies américaines, s'accompagna d'une pénétration énergique et rapide des territoires de l'Ouest, qui devait culminer avec l'apparition de McKenzie et de ses Canadiens au rivage du Pacifique, en 1793. Au cours de ces années, 1760-1800, les postes de traite se multiplient aux carrefours et le long des routes, que pratiquent les Indiens, à l'intérieur d'un triangle irrégulier qui, partant de Fort William, va toucher les Rocheuses, et de là remonte au Grand Lac des Esclaves et retourne à son point de départ. D'où une forte augmentation du nombre des employés et surtout des *voyageurs* au service des diverses compagnies, nombre qui dépasse le milier, dès 1790, et atteint deux mille avant 1810. A cet accroissement considérable de la population circulante, vient s'ajouter le très important facteur du système des brigades dans la manutention des fourrures. Introduit par les sociétés centrées à Montréal, ce système fait transporter les fourrures et les articles de traite par une chaîne de brigades ou équipes, dont chacune opère seulement à l'intérieur de sa région. Il en résultait une stabilisation et, pratiquement, une fixation sur place du personnel de traite. De là s'ensuit et se multiplie l'établissement, autour des postes, de *voyageurs*, de trappeurs et d'employés, qui, prenant femme parmi les tribus de la région, apportent ainsi une constante et considérable augmentation au groupe en formation des métis franco-indiens et anglo-indiens. Au début du XIX^e siècle, ce groupe acquiert même, tout particulièrement dans le territoire des Prairies, une certaine individualité, qui le distingue, à la fois, du type européen et du type indien, avec prédominance à se rattacher à ce dernier.

De par son catholicisme, qui reconnaît à l'indigène une égale valeur d'âme, de par son égalitarisme général, de par son individualisme frondeur et son absence d'ambition sociale, sans mentionner l'attrait des libertés avec les *squaws*, utiles compagnes au cours des randonnées de traite, les Canadiens s'adaptaient facilement au mode de vie, aux mœurs et à la psychologie des Indiens, encouragés qu'ils étaient, en outre, par les chefs de poste, à prendre compagne et racine dans le pays. Dans ce métissage, la survenance des enfants tressait vite un lien additionnel, qui resserrait encore l'attache au milieu économique. En dehors de ses occupations de traite ou de chasse, et parfois de quelques travaux rudimentaires de culture et de jardinage, ces hommes se laissaient insensiblement capter par l'ambiance primitive de la tribu.

Du côté britannique, le métissage opérait avec une certaine différence dans le degré d'assimilation. Tout d'abord, les Anglais, les moins nombreux, et les Ecossais, la plupart des îles Orkney, se prêtaient moins facile-

ment au métissage. Recrutés parmi les chefs de poste, les commis des compagnies canadiennes et les employés de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, la majorité, sauf les Ecossais, ne se dépouillaient que lentement d'un sentiment antipathique envers l'indigène. S'ils consentaient à s'allier à l'Indienne, beaucoup, gardant une ambition de promotion ou de fortune, rentraient dans la civilisation, lorsque l'occasion ou la réussite le permettait, et laissaient à la tribu leur progéniture. Tout en subissant l'ambiance des primitifs, qui les débordaient, la plupart continuaient de vivre en marge de leur entourage. Mais, élevés par les mères, leurs enfants, sauf ceux de quelques chefs supérieurs, s'appartenaient plutôt au type indigène, et devinrent la source, continuellement réalimentée, du groupe métis anglo-indien.

A côté de ces métis anglais et français, tendait, cependant, à prendre place une certaine population flottante, composée d'employés, d'engagés et de *voyageurs*, qui, pour une raison ou une autre, avaient quitté le service des compagnies, afin de s'établir dans le pays. Ils s'occupaient à diverses besognes; ils se faisaient marchands de pacotilles ou d'articles pratiques, trappeurs de fourrures, ou pourvoyeurs de viande fraîche et de pemmican. Les compagnies de traite les désignaient sous le nom de *freemen*, hommes libres, et se louaient de leurs services. Isolés ou groupés en un lieu favorable ou autour d'un poste, ils se livraient également à quelques cultures de grains et de légumes. Ayant contracté mariage à la « mode du Nord », avec des Indiennes, et s'orientant vers la vie sédentaire, ils sont les premiers colons de la Prairie.

C'est dans ce milieu démographique, au confluent des rivières Assiniboine et Rouge, qu'habitaient déjà un nombre d'hommes libres, que vint s'implanter, en 1812, le premier établissement de colonisation, celui de l'Assiniboia, œuvre personnelle de Lord Selkirk. Le pays attirait par l'absence de forêts à déboiser et par la fertilité de la région, abondante en pâturage, mais manquant de bois de service avec ses seuls peupliers et bouleaux. Le climat s'affirmait dur avec un printemps froid, accompagné de gelées, un été chaud et rare en pluie, et un automne agréable, que suivait un long et rigoureux hiver. De la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, Selkirk avait acquis, pour un prix nominal de dix shillings, 160.000 acres de terre. A la compagnie, l'entreprise assurait, à sa portée, des produits de l'agriculture et de la chasse et un réservoir d'employés, réservant les Indiens et les métis pour la poursuite des fourrures. D'autre part, cette même entreprise menaçait fortement les intérêts de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, en détournant ses lignes de transport, en diminuant ses sources d'approvisionnement et en captant une partie de son personnel de chasse.

En octobre 1812, venu par la voie de la Baie d'Hudson, le premier contingent des colons, — quatre-vingts personnes, — s'installait aux rives de la rivière Rouge et, moins de deux ans plus tard, quatre cents émigrants se livraient aux travaux de la culture. Après les difficultés des premières années, l'entreprise semblait s'acheminer vers le succès. Mais les chefs de la

Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, adversaires, dès le début, d'une colonisation, en qui ils voyaient la ruine de la traite, activèrent leur campagne d'opposition, soulevant contre la colonie, dont les chefs furent malhabiles, le mécontentement et l'hostilité des hommes libres et des métis et provoquant, en outre, des désertions parmi les colons. Adroitement noyautés et ameutés, les métis répondirent à l'arbitraire des autorités de la colonie par des actes de violence et, le jour vint, en juin 1816, où, à la Grenouillère, ils fauchèrent de leurs balles vingt-deux colons et le gouverneur Robert Semple. La colonie fut vidée de son monde, mais sa brève existence avait suffi à révéler la grande fertilité du sol et les ressources de la région.

Dès l'année suivante, avec une centaine d'anciens soldats des régiments suisses de Watteville et des Meurons, Lord Selkirk rétablit la colonie, qui se remet à la culture. Au cours des années suivantes, elle reçoit l'important renfort de Canadiens de la Prairie et de leurs familles. Ils sont bientôt suivis d'un nombre d'officiers et d'employés de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson avec leur progéniture, pendant que des immigrants d'Europe remontent les rivières jusqu'au fort Douglas, centre de la colonie. Et voici qu'en 1818, se présentent les premiers missionnaires Provencher et Dumoulin, que suivent des Canadiens du Québec et des Suisses d'Europe. Malgré les manœuvres de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, la colonisation avait gagné la bataille de l'Ouest.

En 1821, l'union des deux compagnies rivales supprime le pire obstacle au progrès de la colonie. Malgré des échecs de la récolte, dus aux sauterelles, à la sécheresse ou aux crues des rivières, l'agriculture récompensait le travailleur tenace et courageux, s'appuyant au besoin sur la chasse au bison et sur une vente de fourrures. En 1823, l'arpentage et le lotissement des terres déclenchèrent un exode des gens des postes vers la colonie, exode que suivit une migration de métis et d'hommes libres, se joignant aux Bois-Brûlés, ou métis français établis sur la rivière Rouge. Dans l'intervalle, le gouverneur avait installé, sous sa direction, un conseil d'administration, — peu actif les premières années, — formé de représentants du peuple choisis par la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, qui avait aussi créé des cours de justice et un service de police. Dans ce conseil, les Canadiens n'entrèrent qu'en 1836 et les métis n'y furent admis qu'en 1857.

Partout, à l'exemple des pionniers de la vallée laurentienne, les colons avaient adopté le système des lopins de terres ayant front sur une rivière, seule voie de communication, fournissant en outre l'eau potable et la ressource de la pêche. Ces lopins mesuraient de six à dix acres de largeur et s'allongeaient sur une distance de deux milles. Au delà de cette limite, la coupe du foin était libre à tous. La colonie, qui ne renfermait aucune agglomération, échelonnait ses habitations sur les deux rives, en aval et en amont, des rivières Assiniboine et Rouge, et de quelques petits affluents de cette dernière, le territoire habité, n'excédant pas, dans sa plus grande extension, une cinquantaine de milles. On pouvait y distinguer les groupes suivants : les anciens employés britanniques des compagnies avec leurs

familles métisses; les Ecossais, y compris les hommes des îles Orkney; les Canadiens du Québec; les officiers de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson avec les colons anglo-saxons, et finalement les métis anglo-indiens et franco-indiens. Le premier recensement de 1854 relève une population de 3.356 habitants, dont 335 chefs de famille catholiques et 250 chefs de famille protestants. De ces chefs de famille, 173 viennent du Canada, 139 des îles britanniques, 280 appartiennent au groupe métis, et 13 restent sans désignation. La culture couvre 3.230 acres et le cheptel s'élève à 7.736 têtes d'animaux.

Par suite de l'attrait qu'exerçaient les avantages d'une vie sédentaire, centrée sur l'agriculture, sous une administration régulière, il ne cessait de s'opérer un continuel glissement de la population des employés des postes, des anciens *voyageurs*, des hommes libres et même des métis vers la colonie, qui avait pris le nom d'Assiniboia. Cette migration se trouvait encouragée par une suite de fructueuses récoltes, de 1833 à 1841, — rendement élevé du blé, de l'avoine, de l'orge et des pommes de terre, — qui permettaient, en de rares occasions, un faible mouvement d'exportation en territoire américain. Aussi, malgré des sécheresses d'été ou des gelées d'automne, qui réduisent, plus ou moins, les récoltes, la population se hausse-t-elle, dès 1849, à 5.391 habitants, avec le bénéfice de 7 églises, 12 écoles et 18 moulins à farine. La culture occupe 6.392 acres, dont le total se trouve avoir doublé en quinze ans. Ces progrès de la colonie, s'ajoutant aux rapports, qui circulent, de la grande fertilité du sol et du prix minime des terres, contribuent à diriger vers la rivière Rouge un continuel courant d'immigrants britanniques et de colons du Québec et de l'Ontario, si bien qu'en 1856, le recensement aligne, distribué parmi dix paroisses, un total de 6.691 âmes, avec 8.806 acres de terre en culture.

La faiblesse de la colonie résidait essentiellement, par suite de son isolement géographique, dans l'absence de marchés, où pouvait s'écouler le surplus de sa production agricole. Les besoins de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson, même en se pourvoyant sur place de grains, de légumes et de viandes, se révélaient trop restreints pour maintenir une circulation suffisante des denrées. Diverses tentatives de créer de petites industries locales échouèrent ou n'apportèrent aucune solution au problème des débouchés. Une certaine amélioration s'exerçait par voie d'une infiltration américaine, centrée à Pembina, à la frontière du Minnesota. Ses représentants, surtout par l'intermédiaire des métis, attiraient chez eux des fourrures et des produits de la colonie, qu'ils approvisionnaient en retour de toutes sortes d'articles. Traiteurs et colons y trouvaient un marché commode et stable. Avec les années, les négociants américains commencèrent d'envahir la colonie, se livrant à la traite illicite des fourrures en échange de marchandises vendues à meilleur marché. Une lutte s'amorçait ainsi contre le monopole de la Compagnie, lutte qui existait également dans le domaine administratif et qui ralliait la double adhésion des blancs et des métis de la colonie, dont la population accusait un total de 8.806 âmes en 1856.

En même temps, d'un côté, se manifestait une agitation en faveur d'une annexion américaine, et, de l'autre, naissait, dans l'Ontario, une campagne demandant l'union de l'Assiniboia à la province canadienne. Cependant, malgré cette perplexité, où se débattaient des intérêts économiques et des réclamations politiques, l'immigration progressait, venant de la Grande-Bretagne, du Canada, et des États-Unis, encouragée, sans doute, par la perspective de la réunion du territoire à la nouvelle confédération canadienne en gestation depuis 1864. Le mouvement se maintient si bien, qu'avec l'accroissement des naissances, un recensement de 1868 indique que la colonie de la Rivière-Rouge pouvait se targuer d'une population d'environ 10.000 habitants, Anglais, Français et métis, à peu près également partagés entre catholiques et protestants, ces derniers étant un peu moins nombreux. L'Assiniboia de 1812, sortie des mains de Selkirk, prévalant contre les rivalités commerciales et les ravages de la nature, avait si bien grandi et prospéré en soixante ans qu'après la tourmente du premier soulèvement des métis sous Riel, elle entraît, de plein pied et de plein droit, dans la Confédération canadienne sous le nom de province du Manitoba.

MEMOIRES DE LA SOCIETE ROYALE DU CANADA

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PREMIERE SECTION



Un mot sur deux lettres inédites

ADRIEN PLOUFFE, M.S.R.C.

VERS la mi-décembre, en 1916, j'écrivais à Sir Wilfrid Laurier, pour lui soumettre une lettre de protestation que je me proposais d'adresser à M. Henri Bourassa.

Je demandai à Sir Wilfrid s'il croyait opportun l'envoi de cette lettre au chef nationaliste.

Avec sa bienveillance accoutumée, Sir Wilfrid me donna son opinion dans une lettre écrite de sa propre main.

Vous lirez plus loin les sept pages photographiées de ce document.

*

* *

Vers la mi-janvier, en 1916, j'avais écrit à M. Henri Bourassa, afin de lui demander son aide morale en faveur d'une souscription publique pour l'Hôpital général Laval.

L'œuvre de la Commission est en marge de la guerre, lui disais-je, et, à ce titre, vous ne commettriez pas, je crois, un crime de lèse-nationalisme, en encourageant la souscription destinée à mieux organiser cet hôpital qui sera envoyé en France.

Ma lettre avait été approuvée par le Dr Joseph Gauvreau, secrétaire de la Commission.

Vous lirez ci-après la réponse de M. Bourassa.

*

* *

Je publie ces deux lettres parce qu'elles mettent bien en évidence le fossé profond qui existait entre les idées de Sir Wilfrid Laurier et celles de M. Bourassa. Ces lettres intéressent la petite histoire.

335 LAURIER AVENUE EAST,
OTTAWA.

22 décembre 1916.

Cher Docteur Plouffe,

Vous me demandez
s'il servirait de l'intérêt
de la race canadienne
française que
vous puissiez publier
la lettre c. M. Prou-
-vance dont vous
m'avez transmise le
manuscrit.

S'intérêt de toute

la race est peut-être
une expression plus
authentique que vous
n'avez eue. Votre
lettre assurément
serait de nature à
amir les yeux, que
de bien des jeunes
gens, sur les consé-
quences et les ~~mérites~~
même la propagande
de M. Proussé.

Et cependant je
proposerais à votre
lettre, une modifi-
cation radicale.

Se ton meat d'un
vontu' l'autre trop
humble. Mais avez
l'ais de vos rancœur
d'oer diopier
d'une lui. Mais
semblez mettre entre
vous et lui la distance
d'Hernani et Dona
Sol, quand il lui dit:
"Je suffre ver de terre
amoureuse d'une itorte?"
Changez tout cela.
Appelez nous que qui
se fait brebis, le
loup le mange, l'âne

votre langage est
 sans jactance, mais
 aussi sans faiblesse.
 J'aurais bien
 aussi quelque chose
 à vous dire, quand
 vous parlez de la
 "grande" et de la
 "petite" que vous
 "défendez", vous
 adressant à M.
 Morneau. Je vien-
 -tez par conséquent
 sur ce terrain; ce
 serait ainsi que

2335 LAURIER AVENUE EAST,
OTTAWA.

controverses n'ont
 tenant inutile, le
 ciel en soit loué.

Int ce qui se
 passe maintenant
 d'innocente victorieuse-
 ment qu'entre la
 thèse impérialiste
 de la participation
 obligatoire au Cana-
 -nada avec preuves
 de la grande
 Métropole, & la
 thèse im-partici-

- putative également
obligatoire de la
thèse nationaliste,
la seule vraie ~~thèse~~
théorie, est la théorie
libérale: c'est au
peuple canadien
seul qu'il appar-
tient de décider
s'il y aura ou s'il
n'y aura pas par-
ticipation.

Et ceux qui
doutent cette guerre
ou la civilisation

même est en jeu, se
croisent les bras,
montrant une am-
plification
étroite.

Acceptez mes
docteurs d'usage,
mes meilleurs sou-
haits pour la réussite,
en même temps que
la cordialité de
mes sentiments.

Wesley Ames.

P.S. Je vous remercie
aussi pour votre
manuscrit.

LE DEVOIR43, RUE SAINT-VINCENT
MONTREAL

Montréal, 17 janvier 1916.

Docteur Adrien Plouffe,
179, Boulevard Saint-Joseph,
En Ville.

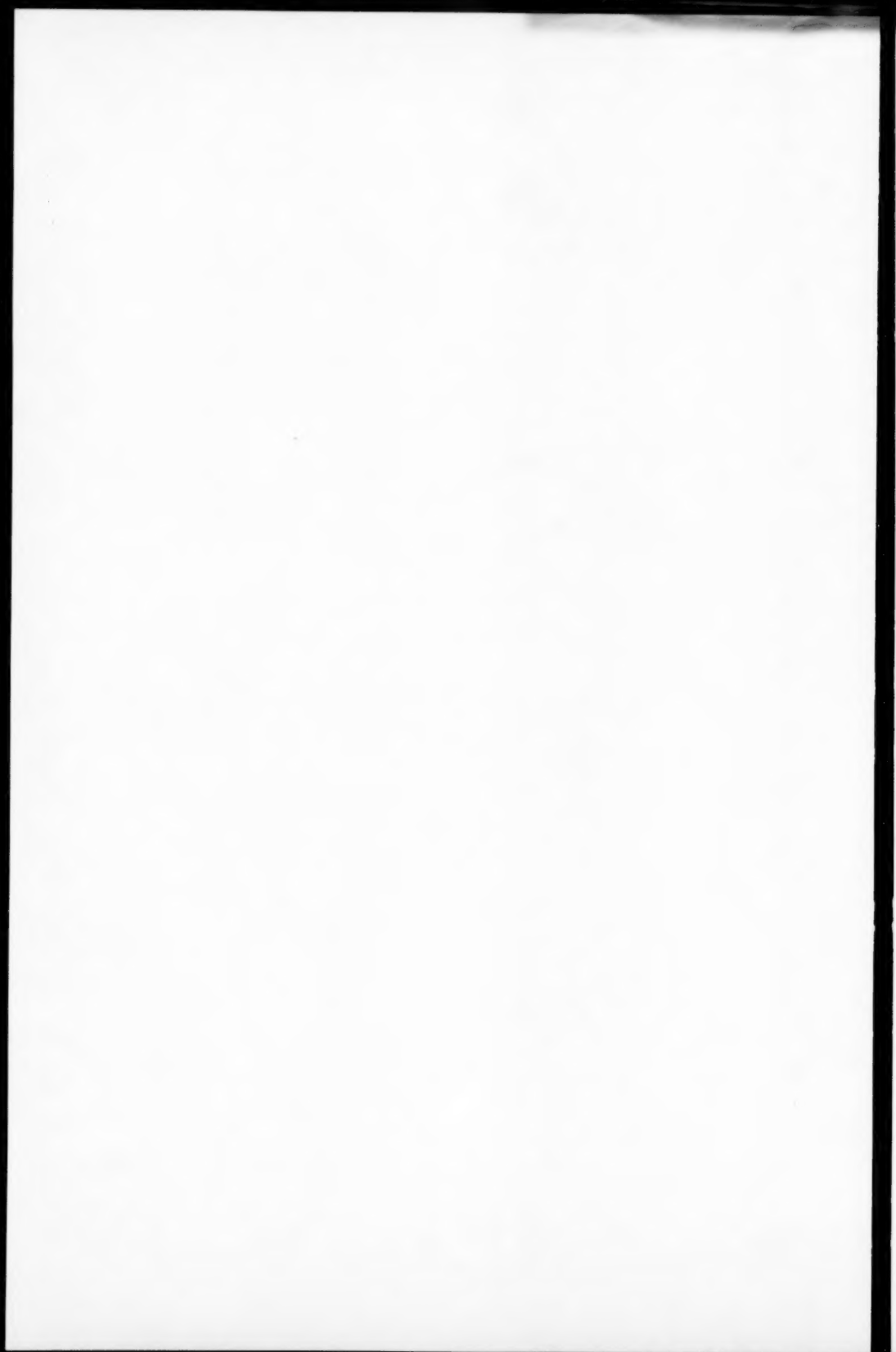
Cher Monsieur,

Vous avez raison de croire que nous avons assez de largeur d'esprit pour ne pas faire porter à une oeuvre de charité le poids de nos opinions politiques. Il est malheureux que les organisateurs de votre entreprise n'aient pas eu la même largeur d'esprit et qu'ils aient transformé votre récente réunion à l'Université Laval en manifestation politique où l'impérialisme s'est prêché sous sa forme la plus intense et la plus arrogante. Ce manque de tact n'est pas de nature à accroître les sympathies en faveur de votre oeuvre. Il est vrai que cette attitude attirera sans doute à votre entreprise le patronage et la faveur de ceux qui résolus de faire tourner tout ce qui se rattache à la guerre au succès de leur propagande anti-nationale.

Ceci ne m'empêcherait pas de vous apporter mon concours si mes ressources, très limitées, n'étaient entièrement absorbées par des oeuvres nationales qui commandent toutes mes sympathies. Je me regarde d'autant plus tenu de me consacrer exclusivement à ces oeuvres qu'elles sont plus honteusement négligées par un grand nombre de Canadiens-français.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma sincère considération.

Henri Bourassa





L'Orfèvre Paul Morand, 1784-1854

GÉRARD MORISSET, M.S.R.C.

L'ARTISAN qui fait l'objet de cette étude a été le dernier orfèvre religieux de la région montréalaise. A l'occasion du centenaire de sa mort, il est à propos de faire connaître le peu que l'on sait de son existence et de signaler ses plus belles œuvres.

Paul Morand est le fils du forgeron Laurent Morand, établi dans une concession de Saint-Eustache qui, plus tard, fut annexée à Blainville; sa mère, Pélagie Massue, était la sœur des seigneurs de Varennes. Il est né le 4 avril 1784, comme a pu l'établir M. Louis Carrier et non sans peine. En effet, son acte de naissance lui donne le prénom de Joseph, prénom que portera également son frère cadet né deux ans plus tard¹. Dans sa famille, on l'appelle Hippolyte; et c'est ce prénom qu'il porte dans le brevet d'apprentissage qui, le 28 avril 1802, le lie pour trois ans à l'orfèvre Pierre Huguet dit Latour. Transcrivons ici ce document que M. Louis Carrier a découvert aux Archives Judiciaires de Montréal; c'est Maître Jean-Baptiste Desève qui tient la plume :

Fut present Laurent morand de Blainville lequel pour faire le Proffit et avantage de hypolithe [*sic*] morand son fils agé denviron dix huit ans, quil certifie fidelle L'a pour ce moment & de son consentement mis & obligé en qualité d'alloué de ce jour Jusqu'a ce quil est [*sic*] atteint L'age de vingt un ans finie revolu & accompli avec M. Pierre Huguet Latour March^d orphevre de cette ville a ce present & acceptant ledit hypolithe morand auquel durant ledit tems il promet montrer et enseigner sa profession d'orphevre et tout ce dont il se mêle en Icelle sans lui en Rien cacher, le nourrir, Loger, chauffer et traiter doucement comme il appartient, son dit père L'entretiendra de tous vêtemens et Linges honetes selon son état et le fera Blanchir.

Promettant ledit alloué apprendre de son mieux tout ce qui lui sera Enseigné & montré par son maître, lui obéir en tout ce quil lui commandera, faire son profit, éviter son domage, L'en avertir s'il vient a sa connoissance, sans pouvoir s'absenter ny aller travailler ailleur pendant ledit tems — auquel cas d'absence son dit pere promet le faire chercher partout ou il appartiendra pour le ramener chez sondit Maître finir son tems des presentes qui sont faites en outre moyennant cent livres de vingt sols que mondit Sr. huguet latour promet payer par chaque année a Compter de ce jour — Car ainsy &c Promettant &c. oblig^t &c. renonc^t &c. fait et passé audit Montréal en L'Etude L'an mil huit cent deux le vingt huit avril avant midy et ont signé, Ledit apprenti a déclaré ne le savoir de ce enquis Lecture faite.

Son apprentissage terminé en 1805, Paul Morand, tout comme son aîné Salomon Marion, reste à l'emploi de son maître à titre de compagnon. Le

¹Joseph Morand, né en 1786, a fait son apprentissage de peintre à l'atelier de Louis Dulongpré, de 1802 à 1805; il est mort à Montréal en 1816.

fait s'explique aisément quand on sait que Pierre Huguet est alors le maître incontesté de la région montréalaise et qu'il attire à son atelier, tant par son prestige que par son talent d'homme d'affaires, toute la clientèle religieuse de l'ouest du Bas-Canada. Il faut avoir vu et photographié les innombrables et magnifiques morceaux d'orfèvrerie qui portent son poinçon (P.H.) et, souvent, la marque MONTREAL, pour se rendre compte de l'importance de la maison Huguet. C'était presque un monopole contre lequel les jeunes orfèvres ne pouvaient lutter. Cette situation s'est prolongée jusqu'à la mort de Pierre Huguet, survenue en 1817. Salomon Marion recueille alors une grande partie de la clientèle religieuse de son ancien maître et la garde jusqu'en 1830, date de son décès. À son tour, Paul Morand bénéficie de la disparition prématurée de son confrère : désormais, et jusqu'à sa mort, il est le fournisseur attitré des paroisses de la région de Montréal.

Au reste, nous possédons fort peu de renseignements sur son stage à l'atelier Huguet et sur les années suivantes. Nous savons, à la suite des recherches de M. Carrier, qu'il perd son père en 1815, et son frère, le peintre, l'année suivante. Nous savons encore, par le *Directory* de Doige, qu'en 1819 il a son atelier au numéro 1 de la rue Saint-Vincent, atelier qu'il occupera jusqu'aux environs de 1850. Nous savons, par les entrées des comptes paroissiaux, qu'il conquiert lentement sa clientèle; par exemple, en 1819, il façonne un bénitier et une aiguière baptismale pour l'église de Rigaud; en 1825, il exécute deux encensoirs en argent pour la fabrique de Varennes. . . Cependant, aucun fait digne de mention ne semble avoir marqué sa carrière d'orfèvre consciencieux. Aucun fait, sauf son mariage. En 1845, le 28 septembre, il prend femme. À soixante et un ans, il épouse Marie-Anne Dufresne, veuve de François Bergevin dit Langevin, tonnelier à Montréal; cette fois, l'orfèvre appose sa signature à son contrat de mariage et à l'acte de l'état civil qui le confirme.

Paul Morand est mort à Montréal le 11 juillet 1854, « après une longue maladie soufferte avec la résignation d'un vrai chrétien ». *La Minerve*, qui nous apprend cette nouvelle dans sa livraison du 22 juillet, ajoute ce détail : « Il laisse dans le deuil une épouse et une sœur inconsolables. »

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* *

À l'époque où Paul Morand commence à travailler à son compte, l'orfèvrerie canadienne est en passe de se transformer rapidement. Déjà l'exemple des orfèvres étrangers récemment établis à Montréal a pesé lourdement sur le style canadien qui, depuis un siècle, évoluait avec une certaine lenteur. Cependant la fin du blocus de l'Angleterre par Napoléon I^{er} va permettre aux orfèvres anglais et écossais d'exporter au Canada un grand nombre de pièces d'orfèvrerie de toutes sortes. En réalité, le Nouveau Monde a été littéralement inondé de produits anglais dès les années 1815-20. Dans cette immense production, il y avait sans doute des

objets d'honnête tenue et d'excellente technique. Mais il faut dire ici qu'en Europe occidentale, le monde des formes était alors au bord de la décadence; celle-ci s'est vite précipitée, et pour diverses raisons.

La décadence des arts décoratifs au siècle dernier est une conséquence directe de la grande industrie : médiocrité des modèles, choisis pour plaire au plus grand nombre; mauvaises habitudes techniques, prises et entretenues avec la seule perspective du profit matériel. En d'autres termes, l'industrialisation d'un métier d'art comme l'orfèvrerie, en rendant ses produits accessibles à presque tout le monde, l'a ravalé au point de vue des formes et lui a en quelque sorte interdit toute recherche de saine originalité. Circonstance aggravante : c'est le moment où l'imitation des styles d'autrefois, au fur et à mesure que les historiens de l'art en font la découverte, est venue jeter la confusion dans un groupe d'artisans qui manquaient déjà singulièrement d'esprit de suite et de sens des formes. Même chez les artisans qui possèdent une grande virtuosité manuelle et une technique éprouvée, on sent la décadence des formes à je ne sais quelle mollesse dans le dessin et quelle faiblesse de goût dans la répartition des éléments décoratifs. La main reste ferme. C'est l'esprit qui vacille.

La région de Québec s'est assez bien défendue contre l'influence étrangère. Si le grand François Ranvozy évite de justesse le mauvais goût du siècle — il est mort en 1819 —, son successeur Laurent Amyot se laisse tenter par certaines formes et certaines silhouettes à la mode vers 1835, et François Sasseville y sacrifie deux ou trois de ses plus beaux morceaux — telle la grande *aiguère* du Palais Episcopal de Québec; quant à Pierre Lespérance, on peut dire qu'il a fait œuvre de goût chaque fois qu'il a suivi aveuglément la tradition canadienne, mais qu'il s'est fourvoyé lourdement quand il a voulu suivre la mode étrangère — le *bénitier* en argent de l'église de Sainte-Foy le prouve abondamment.

Dans la région de Montréal, les dégâts ont été plus profonds et la décadence, plus soudaine. La tradition canadienne y était, semble-t-il, beaucoup moins vivante et moins efficace; les artisans autochtones y étaient noyés dans un flot croissant d'orfèvres venus de partout — États-Unis, Angleterre, Ecosse, Irlande, Allemagne, Suisse, etc.; enfin les objets destinés à la traite des fourrures, commandes habituelles des ateliers montréalais, n'avaient pas les mêmes exigences de style et de technique que les pièces d'orfèvrerie religieuse.

Que Paul Morand n'ait pu éviter l'écueil d'une modernité médiocre qui ne pouvait ni évoluer normalement au sein d'une tradition démantelée, ni se forger un style avec des éléments hétéroclites d'une qualité douteuse, la proposition est indiscutable — et elle le reste à l'égard des orfèvres qui ont succédé à Morand, quelle que fût leur adresse manuelle. Même dans ses meilleures œuvres, on sent une sorte de fléchissement qui affecte non pas tant la technique même de l'homme que le respect de la matière, la dignité des formes et la légitimité des ornements dans leurs rapports avec le style. Bref, on a nettement conscience que le style français des Valois et des

Bourbons est tellement engagé dans la grande bataille romantique qu'il ne paraît survivre vers 1830 qu'à la faveur d'un sursis ou d'une équivoque.

Toute l'œuvre de Paul Morand est le miroir de la décadence que je viens d'esquisser. Dans ses premiers ouvrages, la tradition canadienne joue librement dans le galbe de ses vases d'église et de certains morceaux d'orfèvrerie de table. Par exemple la plupart de ses calices, s'il sont peu comparables aux somptueux calices ciselés de Pierre Huguét et de François Ranvoyzé, sont tout de même composés avec une certaine entente des volumes et avec une agréable netteté de contour; leur coupe est emboutie avec maîtrise, leur pied est mouluré avec vigueur.

Je retrouve les mêmes qualités dans le bénitier d'argent qu'il a façonné pour l'église de Saint-Isidore (Laprairie) : la contrecourbe de la panse est d'une ligne subtile et la base est magnifiquement proportionnée à l'ensemble.

Dans les nombreux encensoirs qu'il a façonnés, Paul Morand a suivi d'assez près deux modèles qu'il a pu observer maintes fois, les encensoirs de Salomon Marion et de Michel Arnoldi. A l'encensoir de Marion, il a emprunté les proportions particulières de la cassolette, le caractère martial de la cheminée et les ornements gracieux qui se détachent sur des fonds piqués; au type d'Arnoldi, il a emprunté le galbe ramassé de l'ensemble et le décor à fleur de surface exécuté au ciselet. Les deux encensoirs de Varennes, martelés en 1826, marquent définitivement la tendance de l'orfèvre à adopter les éléments décoratifs de l'Ecole anglaise et à les mettre en œuvre sur des formes qui se rattachent de près à la meilleure tradition canadienne; ce sont probablement ses chefs-d'œuvre, tout au moins les ouvrages les plus parfaits qu'il a laissés.

Dans une tasse en argent de la collection de M. Louis Carrier, la transformation de la manière de Morand est quasi complète : les contours ont la mollesse des vases londoniens et le décor de feuilles d'acanthé, exécuté dans la masse, répond parfaitement au style archéologique alors à la mode; au reste, la mouluration de la base, le profil de la coupe et le dessin de l'anse s'écartent de la tradition montréalaise par je ne sais quelle raideur, jusque-là rare dans l'Ecole canadienne.

Deux pièces d'orfèvrerie conservées à l'église de Saint-Rémy (Napierville) marquent encore mieux la pente que suit l'orfèvre sous la poussée de la mode. Non pas que Paul Morand, alors âgé d'environ soixante-quatre ans, éprouve déjà les infirmités de la vieillesse; au contraire, la technique de ces ouvrages ne comporte aucune faiblesse : le coup de marteau est ferme, la ciselure bien appliquée. C'est la tenue des ornements qui laisse à désirer; aussi leur répartition hasardeuse. Dans le calice en argent, le décor de la fausse-coupe est trop abondant et nullement à l'échelle de l'ensemble; la silhouette du nœud est comme amoindrie par la surcharge des frises et des godrons; la base est burinée de dessins trop délicats, qui se perdent dans les pleins soigneusement polis.

Quant à l'ostensoir, il s'apparente aux ouvrages que les orfèvres lyonnais

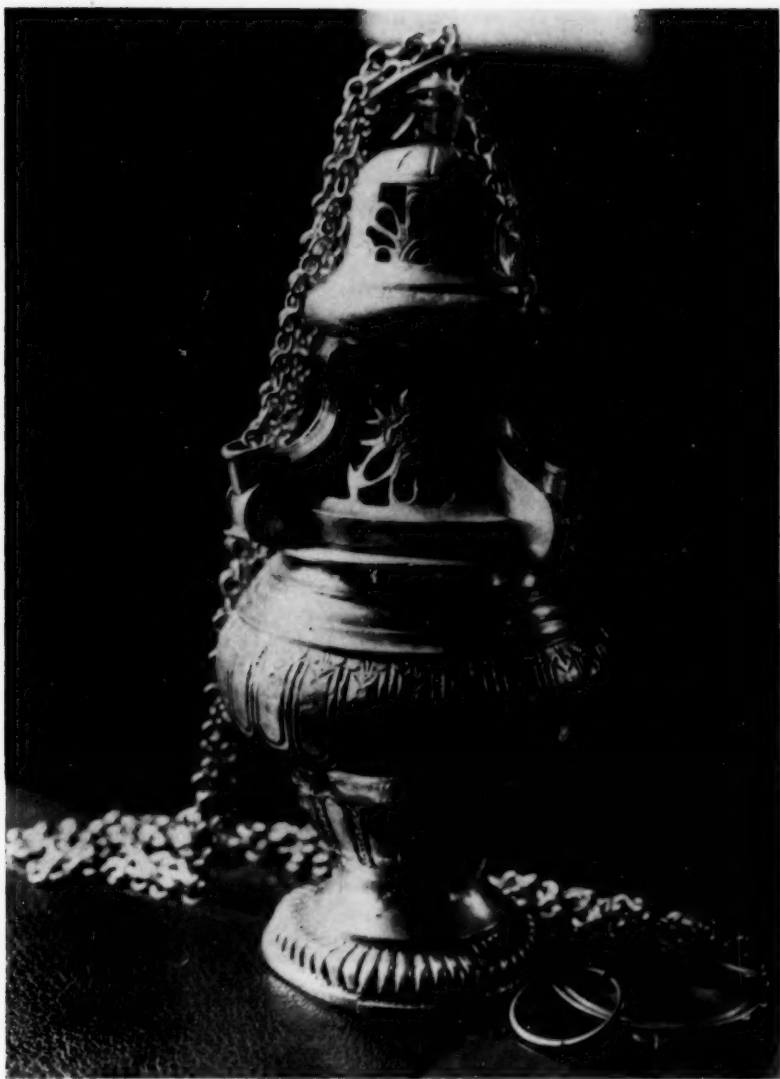


FIGURE 1. Varennes : Encensoir en argent massif façonné en 1826 par Paul Morand (cliché *Inventaire des œuvres d'art*).



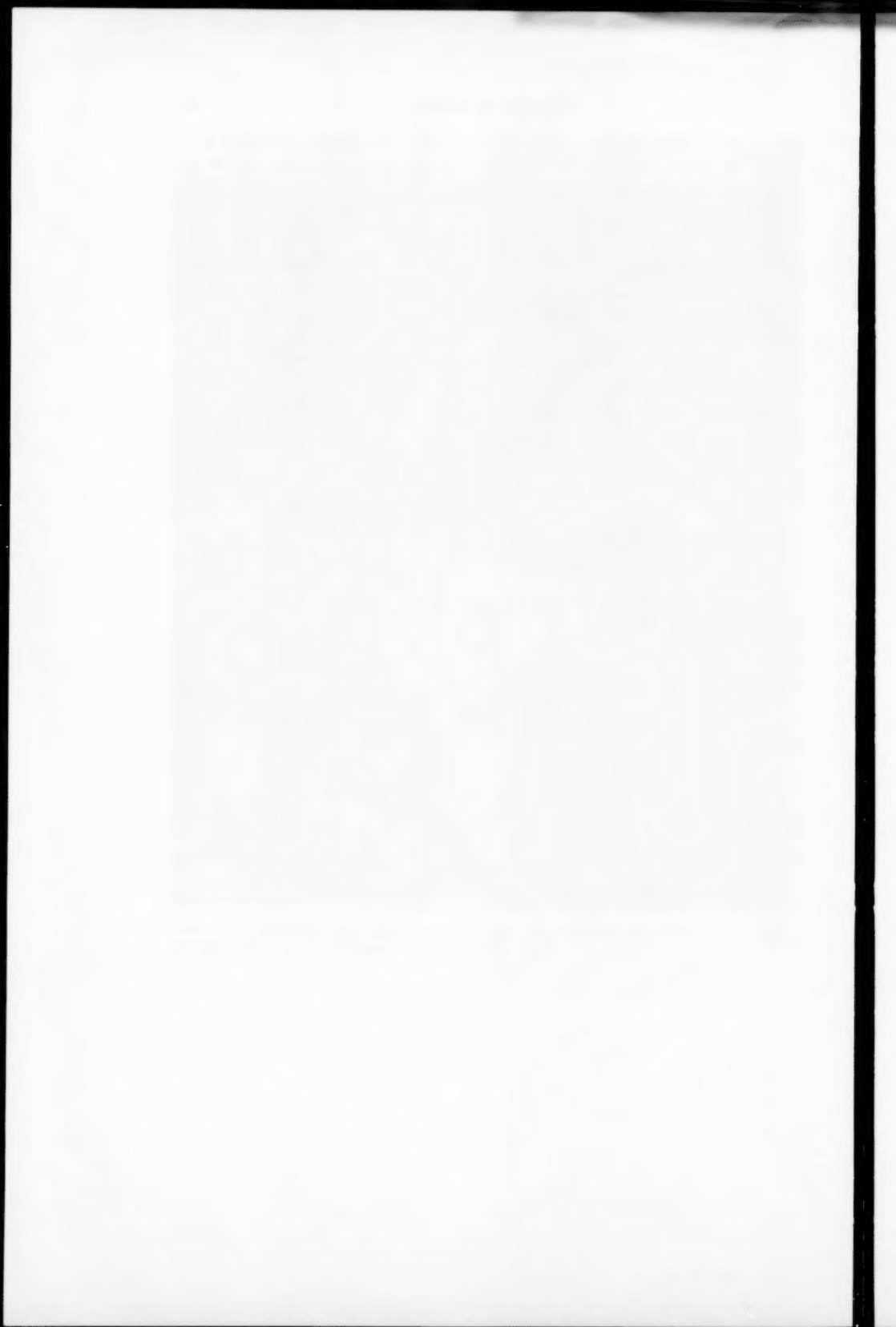
FIGURE 2. Montréal, coll. Louis Carrier : Tasse en argent massif, façonnée vers 1840 par Paul Morand (cliché *Inventaire des œuvres d'art*).

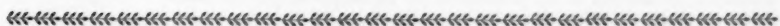
façonnaient alors en série et qui sont entachés des défauts habituels à ce genre d'*articles religieux* : proportions médiocres, allongement inutile du balustre, disposition fautive des rayons du *soleil*.

*

* *

Après Paul Morand, l'Ecole de Montréal comptera d'autres orfèvres qui feront preuve d'une technique solide et d'une conscience professionnelle sans défaillance. Cependant la décadence s'accroîtra avec les années; et vers 1880, l'Ecole canadienne d'orfèvrerie aura cessé d'exister. Car il ne suffit pas de bien connaître son métier pour faire œuvre d'art. Il y faut une imagination saine, une vive sensibilité et un goût sûr — qualités que le XIX^e siècle a trop souvent négligé d'acquérir.





Trois Villes inconnues

OLIVIER MAURALT, M.S.R.C.

I. FLORIANOPOLIS

LORSQUE, en 1946, volant de Pôrto Alegre à Rio de Janeiro, j'aperçus du haut des airs l'île et la ville de Florianópolis, je désirai en connaître davantage sur cette ville, qui me parut si admirablement située. Tandis que Pôrto Alegre et Rio occupent le fond d'une vaste échancrure de la rive atlantique, ici la baie de Guanabara, là le lac des Patos (Canards), Florianópolis est assise sur le côté ouest d'une île, en face de la terre ferme et reliée à elle par un pont. De plusieurs milliers de pieds d'altitude, ce pont n'apparaissait que comme une simple ligne et l'île semblait assez petite. Elle a pourtant 54 kilomètres de longueur et 18 dans sa plus grande largeur. Elle fait partie de la province brésilienne de Santa Catarina et en porte elle-même le nom.

Les navigateurs du XVI^e siècle la connurent sous son nom primitif de Jurera-Mirim. Ce n'est qu'au XVII^e siècle qu'elle fut baptisée et que commença son histoire.

On connaît l'existence de ces « bandeirantes », de ces hordes de plusieurs centaines d'hommes qui chaque année, précédées de leur bannière (bandeira), à cheval et avec une suite de serviteurs, quittaient Sao Paulo pour quelques mois, et allaient à l'aventure découvrir du pays et faire la chasse aux esclaves. C'est un de ces chevaliers-brigands, comme les appelle Stefan Zweig, qui aborda le premier dans l'île de Santa Catarina et sans doute lui donna son nom chrétien. Francisco Diaz Velho y jeta en même temps les fondements d'un poste : on ne sait pas au juste si ce fut en 1651 ou en 1675. D'ailleurs, dans les années suivantes, les pirates se chargèrent de tout détruire. On croit que le poste fut rétabli définitivement en 1700. Et l'on sait que, par lettre royale de 1728, il devint municipalité, et en 1730, paroisse sous la protection de Nossa Senhora do Desterro, que l'on peut traduire par Notre-Dame de la *Solitude* ou de l'*Exil*. Pourquoi ce titre austère et alarmant ? L'île fut-elle, au début, un refuge de gens désespérés ? Les insulaires des Açores et de Madère que s'y établirent y vinrent-ils chassés de chez eux par la misère ? Et les immigrants allemands, si nombreux dans l'état de Santa Catarina, avaient-ils eux aussi des griefs contre leur patrie ? En tout cas, la prospérité actuelle de Florianópolis fait oublier les misères de ses origines. Capitale de l'état de Santa Catarina depuis le XVIII^e siècle, elle devint officiellement ville en 1823. Après la chute de l'empire brésilien, elle prit, en 1893, le nom de *Florianópolis*, en l'honneur

de Floriano Peixoto, homme d'état et maréchal brésilien, qui était major général de l'armée, lors de la révolution, fut membre de l'Assemblée Constituante, et devint le 2^e président de la République de 1891 à 1894.

Par une sorte de fatalité, bien que le nom de la ville apparaisse sur toutes les cartes, il est difficile d'obtenir sur elle des renseignements précis. On a beau feuilleter *Brésil terre d'avenir* de Zweig, ou *Brazil : People and Institutions* de Smith, ou même *Brazilian Culture* de Fernando de Azevedo, trois volumes du plus vif intérêt, les deux derniers bourrés de détails, *Florianópolis*, n'y est jamais signalée qu'en passant, sans un mot de description, sans une image. Pourtant elle mérite mieux.

Bien assise, à mi-chemin entre les deux extrémités de l'île, sur une pointe qui s'avance vers la terre ferme, dont elle n'est séparée que par un détroit de kilomètres, franchi maintenant par un magnifique pont d'acier, elle commande à deux baies, celle du sud, où se trouve le port, et qui s'ouvre sur l'Atlantique par une étroite passe, et celle du nord plus largement évasée : toutes les deux bien protégées contre la vague du large.

Grâce à son climat très tempéré — l'île de Santa Catarina s'étendant un peu au sud du tropique du Capricorne, au 27° de latitude — la ville fait un commerce actif de café, de manioc (dont on tire le tapioca), de bananes, d'oranges, de bergamotes, de raisins, de melons d'eau, de tomates, de patates douces, de canne à sucre, de riz, de gourdes, de fèves, d'ail et d'oignons — sans parler des produits animaux et minéraux.

Elle est desservie par 18 compagnies de navigation et par 6 compagnies d'aviation, 42 lignes d'autobus la relie aux neuf ou dix autres bourgs de l'île et à plusieurs villes du continent, notamment à Curitiba (421 kilomètres), Rio do Sul (242 kilomètres), Tubarao (191 kilomètres), Joinville (183 kilomètres), Blumenau (140 kilomètres), Laguna (130 kilomètres). Naturellement, le télégraphe, le téléphone, la radio (poste ZY J) sont très utilisés.

La population de l'île est de 69.122 (recensement de 1950) et celle de la ville (avec son faubourg d'Estreito, au-delà du détroit) de 52.368.

Florianópolis devint un siège épiscopal en 1908; il est maintenant archevêché, avec Joinville et Lajes comme suffragants. La ville elle-même est divisée en 9 paroisses. Il y a aussi 12 églises protestantes (Évangélique, Baptiste, Presbytérienne de diverses teintes, adventiste du 7^e jour, et 9 centres spirites). La cathédrale, dont les deux tours s'élèvent très haut, est un monument original. La nef a la simplicité ordinaire des églises portugaises, mais les tours jumelles de la façade, terminées en fines coupoles, sont reliées, au-dessus du pignon du toit, par un pont en plein cintre formant comme un arc de triomphe; sous l'arc se balance une grosse cloche. L'ensemble est aérien et fort élégant. A l'intérieur, on peut admirer un groupe en bois sculpté, représentant la « Fuite en Égypte ».

Devant la cathédrale s'étend un vaste jardin public (Place du 15 de novembre) et Jardin Oliveira Belo, qui descend jusqu'au port : on y a acclimaté des arbres des cinq continents. Plus loin vers l'intérieur s'ouvre

le très beau parc Getulio Vargas, du nom du président actuel du Brésil. Signalons aussi le belvédère et la statue d'Hercilio Luz, en vue du beau pont suspendu dont il fut l'architecte.

L'architecture du centre de la ville s'inspire de la mère-patrie. Les bâtiments publics, assez ornés, relèvent en somme de la Renaissance classique. Ils n'ont aucune prétention au gigantesque. Même les constructions très récentes restent modérées de forme et de hauteur. Et une vue aérienne de la ville révèle une abondante distribution de verdure autour des 8.674 (?) maisons qu'elle contient, dont 9 hôtels et 12 pensions.

Si les habitants de Florianópolis se livrent au commerce, à l'industrie, à la finance, et à la politique — leur ville étant capitale d'Etat — ils se pré-occupent aussi d'enseignement et de culture intellectuelle, de charité et d'assistance sociale. L'enseignement à tous les degrés, primaire, secondaire, technique et supérieur est chez eux organisé, aux frais de l'Etat, de la municipalité ou des particuliers. C'est ainsi que la ville possède une faculté de droit et de sciences sociales, une faculté de pharmacie et d'odontologie, une faculté de sciences économiques (cours d'administration et finances) et une faculté de philosophie. Il y a en outre plusieurs institutions d'études secondaires : le Colegio Catharinense, le Colegio Coração de Jesus, l'Instituto Dias Velho; il y a une académie de commerce, une école des arts et métiers, une école de musique, une école professionnelle féminine, une école de formation religieuse, une école normale, un institut Brésil-Etats-Unis où l'on enseigne l'anglais, et maints cours de dactylographie, de couture et que sais-je encore. Bref, la ville aurait abrité, en 1950, 61 associations de culture physique, intellectuelle, artistique, morale et sociale. Elle compterait 40 bibliothèques avec un chiffre total de 155.123 volumes, 6 cinémas et 1 théâtre. On parle même d'une Colonia Santa Tereza qui serait un *Oberammergau* brésilien. Il y aurait aussi 20 journaux dont 5 quotidiens, et 9 revues, un musée d'ethnographie, un musée d'art moderne. Quant à la culture physique, elle se manifeste par des stades et des clubs de football, de basket-ball, des clubs de sports nautiques et de natation — n'y a-t-il pas, aux alentours, 13 plages aménagées ?

Dans la liste des facultés universitaires de Florianópolis manque la faculté de médecine, bien qu'on y voie celles de pharmacie et de chirurgie dentaire. Cela ne veut pas dire que la ville soit dépourvue d'institutions hospitalières. On y voit au contraire 25 établissements de santé : 3 hôpitaux, dont l'un, l'Hôpital Impérial de la Charité, admirablement situé, a été modernisé, 2 maternités, 5 centres de santé, 6 *enfermarias*, 6 *ambulatorias*, 1 centre de puériculture, 1 centre médical, 1 assistance municipale.

A côté de la santé, plaçons la sécurité sociale. Florianópolis compte 28 organisations syndicales, 3 coopératives de consommation, 1 de crédit et 6 scolaires.

Ainsi pourvue de tous les organismes de la vie moderne, Florianópolis dans son île, ayant d'un côté l'Atlantique et de l'autre les sommets de la Sierra do Mar, doit être une des villes du monde les plus agréables à habiter.

L'activité fébrile des grandes agglomérations lui est inconnue. D'autre part, elle possède sur son territoire tout ce qui est nécessaire à sa culture et à ses loisirs. Il semble qu'on puisse y vivre heureux sans effort. O Florianópolis, ville au doux nom de fleur, posée comme une corbeille au bord de l'océan !

II. PESMES : PETITE VILLE¹

Pesmes : ce nom semble sortir d'une pièce de Claudel ! C'est celui d'une petite ville de France, que j'ai traversée rapidement, en me rendant par la route, de Genève à Vittel. De retour chez moi, le souvenir du nom et de la ville m'est revenu, et j'ai voulu en savoir plus long.

Les petites villes inconnues exercent un attrait extraordinaire. On dirait qu'elles mettent une sorte de coquetterie à se dérober à la curiosité, du chercheur. Voilà des années que j'essaie d'obtenir des renseignements sur une ville insulaire de la côte atlantique du Brésil, du nom de Florianópolis, et plusieurs mois que je m'informe d'une autre ville insulaire, Lüderitz, située au large de la côte atlantique du Sud-Ouest africain : mes efforts sont très mal récompensés. Si j'ai pu voir Florianópolis du haut d'un avion volant à 3.000 pieds d'altitude, je ne sais de Lüderitz qu'une chose : c'est, dit-on, une des villes les plus pittoresques du monde. Curieuse coïncidence, ces deux villes s'élèvent l'une en face de l'autre, de chaque côté de l'Atlantique, sur la ligne du 27^e parallèle sud...

Pesmes, fort heureusement est plus facile d'accès, bien que, en 1861, son Conseil Municipal se soit convaincu qu'il était d'utilité publique de faire passer le chemin de fer à 3 kilomètres de la ville. Et ce chemin de fer qui va de Gray à Ougney n'est pas une grande ligne. De sorte que l'on met aujourd'hui 5 heures pour se rendre de Pesmes à Paris.

Si l'on cherche Pesmes, sur une bonne carte de France, on la trouve... Elle s'élève sur les rives de l'Ognon, un affluent de la Saône, aux confins des départements de la Haute-Saône et du Jura. Les villes qui l'entourent, comme Vesoul, Luxeuil, Gray, ou encore Montbéliard, Besançon, Langres, sont beaucoup plus connues qu'elle. Et justement, c'est parce qu'elle est humble et obscure qu'elle nous intéresse particulièrement. Elle devient pour nous comme le type de la petite ville d'un vieux pays, où des générations d'humains ont vécu tranquilles et probablement heureux.

Mais attention, il s'agit ici du sol de France et nous savons que pas une parcelle de ce sol n'a été épargnée à un moment ou à un autre, par des invasions et des guerres. Pesmes a eu ses murailles dont elle a conservé des portes et d'autres parties. Son pont a été détruit lors de la guerre franco-prussienne. Si inconnue qu'elle soit, elle a fait le sujet d'une bonne dizaine de mémoires et de volumes, sans parler de ceux qu'on a consacrés à ses familles seigneuriales.

En tout cas, son histoire ne remonterait pas au delà du XII^e siècle, comme c'est le cas pour la plupart des bourgs et villages de France.

¹L'auteur de cette étude doit à M. Claude de Bonnault, archiviste de Paris, toute la documentation dont il s'est ici servi.

Les premiers seigneurs de Pesmes comptaient parmi les hauts barons de la comté de Bourgogne. Cette première maison s'éteignit en 1327 avec Guillaume IV de Pesmes. Sa fille et seule héritière Jeanne avait épousé Othon de Granson, d'une illustre famille de la Bourgogne transjurane. Les Granson tinrent un rôle de premier plan à la cour des comtes de Savoie et à celle des ducs de Bourgogne. Vassaux des uns et des autres, ils ne surent pas toujours concilier les deux allégeances. Aussi voit-on Jean de Granson décapité par ordre du bon duc Philippe de Bourgogne et sa terre confisquée, puis donnée à Claude de la Baume, comte de Montrevel. La baronnie demeura longtemps entre les mains des LaBaume-Montrevel, fut érigée en marquisat, au XVIII^e siècle, et finalement passa aux Choiseul, par le mariage de Diane-Gabrielle, marquise de LaBaume-Montrevel avec Claude-Antoine-Clériadus de Choiseul.

Mais la Révolution était proche. La terre et le château de Pesmes furent vendus comme biens nationaux. Et il paraît que de tous les acquéreurs de biens enlevés à leurs propriétaires, aucune descendance mâle ne dépassa la 3^e génération, du moins dans cette comté de France. Il y a une vingtaine d'années, le château appartenait à la famille Douat Billardet qui possédait aussi les forges. Depuis un an le châtelain est le comte de Rhéty, sans doute parent de la reine des Belges.

Il vient d'être question du château. Il ne faut pas s'attendre à quelque chef-d'œuvre du moyen âge, de la Renaissance, ou du grand siècle. En dehors de sa situation, sur une sorte de falaise, au-dessus de l'Ognon, il n'a rien de très remarquable. Mais sa simple et forte silhouette de pierre, fait bien dans le paysage, dominant les maisons de la rive et formant perspective au-delà du pont.

Les forges ne sont plus célèbres, bien qu'elles remontent au XVIII^e siècle. En 1660, en effet, le roi d'Espagne, Philippe IV, accordait au Marquis de Saint-Martin, qui était un LaBaume, baron de Pesmes, d'ériger un fourneau et une forge. Ces ateliers connurent une grande activité : on y usinait des fers de Bourgogne, que l'on transportait ensuite dûment élaborés, à St-Etienne. On s'en servait pour fabriquer des canons de fusil. Encore en 1869, deux hauts fourneaux restaient allumés. Les forges de Pesmes continuent d'exister : il en sort des sécateurs.²

Nous n'avons encore rien dit de l'église. Ici, comme dans le cas du château, rien de grandiose ou de particulièrement séduisant. Alors que dans tant de coins perdus de France, on tombe sur de véritables bijoux d'églises, celle de Pesmes ne frappe ni par son clocher, très ordinaire, en forme de coupole, ni par sa nef, ni par son chœur. Elle a pourtant conservé quelques parties anciennes qui datent du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècle. Au XVI^e, l'édifice fut presque complètement transformé. De cette époque datent deux chapelles, dignes d'attention et grâce auxquelles la visite de l'église réserve une agréable surprise. Au surplus, ne soyons pas trop sévères. Cette église a mérité d'être étudiée en détail par des archéologues et des

²Pesmes possède aussi une tannerie, une scierie.

artistes. Revenons aux deux chapelles. La première, celle des d'Andelot, le « morceau capital », fut aménagée entre 1556 et 1563, par Pierre d'Andelot, abbé de Bellevaux, pour lui servir de sépulture, ainsi qu'à son frère, Jean, bailli de Dôle. Elle est revêtue de marbre blanc et rouge, polychromie du plus heureux effet. Les statues des deux frères, — le bailli en costume de chevalier de Calatrava — représentés à genoux sur leur tombeau, sont l'œuvre d'un sculpteur Comtois, Claude Arnoux, dit Lulier, surnommé le *Praxitèle* de son temps. La même chapelle contient encore un retable orné de statues en albâtre, la Vierge et deux Sybilles, en qui certains reconnaissent sainte Anne et sainte Elisabeth.

L'autre « morceau » remarquable de l'église St-Hilaire, est la chapelle des Mairot, due à noble homme Catherin Mairot, bourgeois de Pesmes, à peine moins somptueuse que celle des d'Andelot. Elle date de la même époque. En marbre, elle aussi, elle s'orne d'un triptyque en bois de chêne, où sont peints, sur le panneau du fond, le Christ au tombeau, et sur les volets latéraux, le donateur à gauche, sa femme, à droite.

On pourrait encore signaler une chaire en marbre qui a la forme d'un hanap, un bénitier en marbre rouge, des statuette du XVI^e siècle, un maître-autel de 1725; de même que l'on peut retrouver des restes de la première église de 1160, dans la tour, dans les murs des chapelles collatérales et de l'abside...

Il y eut aussi très tôt, à Pesmes, un autre bâtiment religieux. Dès 1153, en effet, on y voyait un prieuré, relevant de l'abbaye bénédictine de saint Germain d'Auxerre. Peut-être est-ce sur le même emplacement que s'élève aujourd'hui la maison qui s'appelle « les Capucins ».

Une petite chapelle rustique domine la rivière, du haut d'une roche.

On dit enfin que Pesmes eut sa maladrerie, du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle.

Le peuple de ce petit pays doit maintenant nous occuper, car il a eu sa modeste histoire. La comté de Bourgogne fut une terre d'élection du serfage. Les fameux serfs du Mont Jura l'étaient encore en 1789. Et l'on sait qu'il n'y eut pas d'affranchissements de gens de Pesmes avant 1333, ce qui est une époque tardive. En 1416, la ville obtint une charte de franchise, et fut, à partir de ce moment, administrée par quatre magistrats élus, appelés prud'hommes, jurés ou échevins. Elle avait des armoiries : d'azur à une main dextre apaumée d'argent. On devine le jeu de mots, avec pesmes et paume. Ces armes apparaissent dans l'armorial général de 1696.

C'est que cette petite ville possédait une bourgeoisie florissante, composée de marchands et d'hommes de loi. Les familles Mairot, dont nous avons déjà parlé, et Mouchet, se distinguaient par leur richesse et par leur générosité.

Malheureusement la décadence est venue. En 1762, elle comptait encore 254 feux. En 1869, sa population était de 2.755 âmes. Au dernier recensement, il n'y en avait plus que 815. Espérons que la repopulation, qui va si bon train en France, depuis la dernière guerre, atteindra les rives char-

mantes de l'Ognon. La vie doit être si douce, dans ces endroits restés à l'abri du tourisme international et de toute hâte fébrile. Leur histoire n'a sans doute rien d'excitant. Et puis après ?...

Si je m'aide de photographies pour préciser mes souvenirs de Pesmes, je revois les trois arches de son pont de pierre : les rives de l'Ognon bordées d'arbres qui, à de certains endroits, ne sont pas loin de se rejoindre par leurs hautes branches; les maisons à toits pointus et assez à pic, disposées avec une aimable fantaisie; la masse des bâtiments du château et de la gendarmerie reposant sur de fortes assises de pierre, bien au-dessus des toits; la Grand'Rue, où l'alignement des maisons, couronnées de toits en pente et de nombreuses cheminées, n'a rien de trop rigoureux; la Porte St-Hilaire engagée dans un groupe de maisons du plus heureux effet; la Porte Loigerot, plus champêtre, mais surmontée d'un vestige du mur d'enceinte; les *Capucins*, avec leur harmonieuse façade, à la française, encadrée de deux ailes, dont celle de droite servait de cloître ouvert; la petite place, plantée de grands arbres et ornée d'un modeste monument aux morts de la Guerre de 1914...

Si donc, portant dans l'esprit le mot de Shakespeare « What's in a name ? », nous avons recherché ce qui se cachait derrière le nom de Pesmes, nous n'avons pas été déçus, puisque nous avons trouvé des hommes, qui ont vécu, travaillé, prié, et qui ont façonné à leur image ce paysage de France, fait de douceur, de mesure et de pérennité.

III. LÜDERITZ

C'est dans la recension d'un livre de Lawrence C. Green, intitulé *At Daybreak for the Isles*, que mon attention fut pour la première fois attirée sur la ville de Lüderitz : « a fantastic town such as you will find in no other corner of the globe ». C'en était assez pour que je n'eusse de repos avant de savoir à quoi m'en tenir.

Le livre lui-même de M. Green me fournit un bon nombre de renseignements. Mais l'auteur traite surtout de guano et de diamants, de pélicans et de loups marins, de marins et d'aventuriers ayant fréquenté la côte inhospitalière du désert de Namib; il ne consacre qu'un chapitre au « port des îles » et ne reproduit aucune photographie. Il me fut possible de me documenter davantage en consultant le *South West Africa Annual*.

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Si vous jetez un coup d'œil sur une carte de l'Afrique, vous voyez que la pointe sud porte le nom d'Union sud-africaine, immense territoire sous protectorat anglais, territoire qui se prolonge à l'est, vers le nord jusqu'à la Mer Rouge, par d'autres colonies anglaises. Or, le long du littoral de l'Atlantique, entre le fleuve Orange et le fleuve Kunene qui forme la frontière de l'Angola portugaise, s'étend une vaste région, autrefois nommée le Damaraland, aujourd'hui South-West Africa, avec, pour capitale, Wind-

hoek, située à l'intérieur, à 5.600 pieds d'altitude. Le long du littoral s'échelonnent des îles rocheuses et dénudées, peuplées de pingouins et de cormorans appelés « fous », qui produisent le précieux guano. La mer regorge de homards, et les rives sablonneuses, de diamants. Sur une longueur de 700 milles et une profondeur de 80, règne le désert de Namib où soufflent des vents d'est qui élèvent des dunes jusqu'à la hauteur de 600 pieds. Dans ce sable poussent des plantes étranges, qu'on ne trouve que là, par exemple, le « nara », espèce de melon dont les racines descendent jusqu'à 50 pieds dans le sol pour y capter de l'humidité (il ne tombe qu'un pouce de pluie par année dans ces régions) ; on en fait un gruau, une sorte de crêpe, une bière, des médicaments ; en second lieu, le fantastique « tumboa » ou *Welwitschia mirabilis*, fossile vivant de la famille des plantes, énorme bulbe pouvant peser 200 livres, qui élève sa partie supérieure plate à pas plus d'un pied de terre. Cette partie plate et oblongue a de six à huit pieds de circonférence ; de ses bords s'échappent des fleurs écarlates et des cônes, et surtout deux feuilles, d'un vert sombre de deux pieds de largeur et qui atteignent jusqu'à vingt pieds de longueur. Ces feuilles se séparent souvent longitudinalement en plusieurs segments qui donnent l'illusion de nouvelles pousses³.

Malgré ses merveilles, cette côte de l'Atlantique porte des noms funèbres : « Coast of Dead Ned » ou « Skeleton Coast », car le nombre est incalculable des êtres humains qui y ont perdu la vie depuis sa découverte au XVe siècle.

C'est le navigateur portugais Barthélemy Diaz, qui le premier longea ces côtes fatidiques, en route pour les Indes par voie du Cap de Bonne Espérance. Vers le 27e degré de latitude, il pénétra dans une petite baie entourée de rochers, où se trouvaient trois îlots. Sur l'un d'entre eux il érigea une croix de fer. Plus tard, sans que l'on sache par qui, ce port fut nommé « Angra Pequena », c'est-à-dire « petite baie ». Et les siècles passèrent. Navigateurs et aventuriers y faisaient escale : ils ne s'y fixaient pas. L'Angleterre s'était emparée de la Colonie du Cap, mais n'avait pas réclamé la possession de ces régions arides. Elle exerçait une sorte de protectorat sur les îles du littoral où l'on récoltait le guano, où l'on chassait le phoque, mais s'était désintéressée de l'intérieur, où des missionnaires avaient demandé, mais en vain, sa protection. Malgré le laconisme des cartes, les ressources du pays étaient cependant connues de certains marins et des chercheurs de trésor.

Or, dans le dernier quart du XIXe siècle, un Allemand né à Brême, Adolf Lüderitz, qui avait d'abord fait le commerce du tabac en Virginie, puis avait amassé une fortune sur un ranch du Mexique et l'avait perdue au cours d'une révolution, se trouvait en disponibilité. Rentré en Allemagne, il rencontra à Hambourg, le navigateur Karl Timpe, qui lui révéla le « no man's land » de l'Afrique de l'Ouest. Lüderitz, séduit, résolut de

³Le regretté F. Marie-Victorin en avait transporté des plants au Jardin Botanique de Montréal. Ils y croissent lentement.

s'y rendre. Il voulut intéresser Bismarck à son entreprise, mais le Chancelier s'y montra indifférent. Lüderitz ne se découragea pas pour autant : il recueillit des fonds, et en 1882, envoya en éclaireur son ami Heinrich Vogelsang. Celui-ci se rendit à la Colonie du Cap, recueillit discrètement les renseignements nécessaires, remonta la côte jusqu'à Angra Pequena et s'y installa. Il trouva sur les lieux un Anglais du nom de David Radford, agent d'une compagnie d'hommes d'affaires du Cap. Il ne se laissa pas intimider, dépêcha une délégation à Béthanie, capitale des Hottentots, à leur chef Joseph Fredericks, acheta de lui une partie de la côte, et hissa dès ce moment à *Angra Pequena* le drapeau allemand. Un peu plus tard une seconde mission négocia un agrandissement de territoire avec le même Fredericks. En 1883, Adolf Lüderitz parut sur la scène. Il arriva avec des renforts en hommes et en matériaux. Les Anglais, au courant des événements, voulurent alors protester. Bismarck, cette fois, prit le parti de ses compatriotes et fit si bien que l'Angleterre dut reconnaître le protectorat de l'Allemagne sur la côte atlantique, du fleuve Orange au fleuve Kunene, c'est-à-dire 32.000 milles carrés, autant que les trois quarts de l'Union actuelle Sud-africaine. L'arrangement n'avait pas été conclu sans beaucoup de pourparlers et de protestations en Afrique aussi bien qu'en Europe. Pendant qu'une commission chargée en 1885 de régler le différend siégeait à Cape Town, Bismarck envoyait à Angra Pequena, le Dr. Heinrich Goe-ring (le père du fameux Hermann) avec une armée de comédie. Il y resta cinq ans. Mais déjà, peu après l'arrivée du général, Bismarck avait gagné son point.

La nouvelle ville devait bientôt prendre le nom de Lüderitzbruch, qu'elle conserve encore quoique abrégé.

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Une ville : c'était beaucoup dire. Lüderitz restait encore à construire. Pendant une trentaine d'années, elle ne fut guère qu'une poignée de hangars. Personne n'y fit fortune. Le fondateur lui-même y dépensa 500,000 marcs dans de difficiles tentatives d'élevage, se fit rembourser 300,000 marcs par la German Colonial Company, entreprit des expéditions sur la côte et périt en mer, en 1886.

La ville ne sortit de sa léthargie qu'en 1907 quand on y découvrit des diamants. Ce furent des ouvriers employés à la construction du chemin de fer, allant de Lüderitz à Aus, qui trouvèrent les premiers diamants en creusant des tranchées dans les dunes de la côte. Une armée de prospecteurs de tout acabit se rua vers ces sables pleins de trahison. Lüderitz progressa. Sur ses rochers dénudés où ne pousse rien, on éleva de solides maisons, des hôtels, des tavernes; on traça une Bismarckstrasse et même une avenue Unter den Linden sans un seul arbre; on transporta de l'intérieur du pays, un peu de terre pour faire des jardins; on installa sur les hauteurs de la ville des réservoirs d'eau distillée. Hôpitaux, églises, musée —

car il y a un musée historique — et les autres constructions semblent avoir été jetés au hasard, sans doute à cause des accidents de terrain. Il s'en dégage cependant une impression de grande solidité. C'est que la ville doit résister périodiquement à de terribles ouragans, à des tempêtes de sables qui durent trois jours, obscurcissent le ciel, forment des dunes dans les rues, pénètrent dans les maisons où elles déposent une épaisseur de plusieurs pouces de sable, interrompent la circulation du chemin de fer et des autos.

Et la mer est là, toute proche, pénétrant dans la « petite baie », qui n'est petite que par comparaison avec de plus grandes, celle de Walvis, par exemple, et formant un beau port, protégé par des pointes et par l'île aux Requins maintenant reliée à terre ferme, l'île aux Pingouins et l'île aux Phoques. Il y a des navires en rade, d'autres à quai. Sans aucun doute, malgré ses inconvénients et ses désavantages la place est prospère.

Inutile de dire que depuis la guerre de 1914, cette colonie de Bismarck n'appartient plus à l'Allemagne. L'administration en fut confiée, sous forme de mandat, à l'Union Sud-africaine. Mais elle a gardé un caractère bien à elle. Un voyageur du Cap, de passage à Lüderitz, écrivait encore récemment : « Now I was in Africa... and yet the skyline was Teutonic, like an illustration from Grimm's fairy-tales. The roofs came so steeply towards the pavement that one looked for an avalanche of snow (under the moon). I could see timbers built into the walls, turrets against the stars, cupolas at street corners. At that moment it was like a remembered night in Hamburg. »

Telle quelle Lüderitz n'est peut-être pas la « fantastic town » que vous avait fait prévoir le début de mon récit. Sans doute, comme moi, aviez-vous imaginé quelque ville féerique perchée sur un énorme rocher, dominée par quelque château de rêve, étagée en terrasses luxuriantes, tropicales ou semi-tropicales, une face tournée vers un océan sans limite. Mais à la réflexion, Lüderitz, port de mer et ville, créée de toutes pièces, en plein désert, à près de cent milles de toute végétation, sans eau potable, sans fruits, sans légumes, sans fleurs, construite en pierre selon le goût architectural de l'Allemagne de nord, disciplinée à la prussienne, Lüderitz, accrochée comme par hasard, à ce 27^e parallèle africain, n'est-elle pas, en effet, un défi jeté à la raison, bref, pour tout dire, une chose fantastique ?...



L'Anecdote

LOUIS-PHILIPPE ROBIDOUX, M.S.R.C.

J'AI cru que je pourrais vous intéresser — on s'imagine toujours qu'on peut être intéressant — en vous parlant de *l'Anecdote*, cette dame aux masques innombrables que l'on rencontre partout, qui amuse souvent, qui déconcerte quelquefois, mais qui ne laisse pas de piquer la curiosité humaine.

En effet, l'Anecdote est une créature à mille faces, une personne désinvolte et infatigable, qui court sans cesse la prétentaine et qui s'introduit partout : dans les salons, dans les clubs, dans les réunions mondaines, au beau milieu d'une conversation ou d'une lecture et qui pousse même l'audace jusqu'à accompagner, bras dessus bras dessous, les plus sérieux prédicateurs sous l'abat-voix de la chaire sacrée.

Encouragée par l'effet qu'elle produit quand elle s'accroche aux lèvres des grands orateurs et des beaux diseurs, l'Anecdote a voulu, par surcroît, gagner les faveurs de l'historien, du romancier, du poète, du peintre, du musicien, du sculpteur et même de l'essayiste sévère, et il faut convenir que ses mamours, ses charmes, sa grâce et sa versatilité lui ont réussi au delà de toute espérance. Femme facile, elle est vite conquise, mais comme elle a le diable au corps, elle cherche aussi à faire des conquêtes et passe constamment de l'un à l'autre, comme au bal la débutante cherche à multiplier ses belles façons avant d'arrêter son choix sur le plus beau et le plus spirituel danseur, si tant est qu'un danseur, à l'instant qu'il se fait aller les pieds, puisse être spirituel...

A vrai dire, l'Anecdote pourrait s'appeler de tous les noms, mais je ne sais pourquoi ceux qui en usent ou en abusent semblent avoir juré de ne lui en donner aucun de précis. Veut-il couper le récit de longues pages philosophiques ou didactiques, tel auteur ennuyeusement solennel sent comme le besoin impérieux, de ramener à lui l'auditoire qui lui échappe et déclare impromptu : *On raconte qu'un jour...* Le professeur, qui voit douze ou quinze de ses élèves demander à Morphée l'explication de Tacite ou d'Aristophane, se dit à son tour : Tiens, si j'y allais d'une petite anecdote plus ou moins plausible, mais amusante, peut-être pourrais-je continuer ma leçon que je n'ai tout de même pas préparée pour les bancs. Suivant donc sa louable intention, il commence : *On rapporte que Madame de Pompadour...* Et le conteur qui se perd dans son romanfleuve usera du même stratagème, et l'historien qui s'aperçoit que le récit de la bataille de Waterloo, repris pour la dix millièmes fois, menace de devenir fastidieux, emploiera, lui aussi, le même truc, en s'arrêtant net et en disant : *J'ai lu que se trouvant un jour à la chasse, Henri IV...*

N'avais-je donc pas raison, tantôt, de vous dire que l'Anecdote, qui ne révèle presque jamais son vrai visage, a tous les noms, mais n'en porte aucun de parfaitement distinctif. Il suffit qu'elle amuse, qu'elle fasse rire, qu'elle commande l'attention, qu'elle s'impose à la curiosité; il suffit qu'elle tire de temps à autre une larme, qu'elle fasse impression, qu'elle attendrisse, qu'elle rassérène les visages attristés, qu'elle calme un moment les cœurs angoissés ou qu'elle serve de dérivatif aux esprits fatigués de sérieux ou de sublime, pour être fière d'elle et se croire importante.

Le grand écrivain Barbey d'Aurevilly, qui a malmené tant de gens et tant de choses, au cours de sa carrière funambulesque, a cependant eu des mots élogieux et tendres pour l'Anecdote qu'il tient pour une personne d'agréable et noble compagnie. On doit, en effet, à celui que l'on a surnommé le *Connétable des Lettres* ce jugement clairvoyant :

L'Anecdote n'est pas si légère que le croient Messieurs les hommes graves. Avec le mot : C'est amusant, on a une manière dégagée de déshonorer les choses, mais l'anecdote, l'amusante anecdote, n'en est pas moins, quand on sait la choisir et l'enlever, *la concentration même de l'histoire...* Dans ces petits médaillons, qui ne sont rien du tout aux gros yeux béotiens des bœufs du travail lourd et de l'effort pénible, il y a vraiment plus d'histoire réelle accumulée que dans beaucoup de grandes pages tirées à quatre épingles et qui ont la prétention d'être des tableaux. Ce qu'il tient de molécules odorantes dans un grain de musc inépuisable, qui les a comptées ?

J'accepte, pour ma part, ce jugement du célèbre écrivain normand, et si j'ai parlé moi-même, tout à l'heure, un peu irrévérencieusement de l'Anecdote, j'en demande volontiers pardon à celui-ci comme à celle-là. D'autant plus sincèrement que j'ai comme bien d'autres et comme vous tous, messieurs, une grande admiration pour celle qui a mérité l'éloge et l'appréciation de l'auteur des *Memoranda* et des *Diaboliques*.

Comme l'Anecdote n'est pas, à proprement parler, un genre littéraire, les censeurs n'ont pas cru nécessaire de lui assigner des règles strictes et rigides. Elle peut donc couvrir une ou plusieurs pages d'un livre, comme elle peut occuper un beau discoureur durant une heure ou durant quelques secondes. L'essentiel, c'est qu'elle soit intéressante, qu'elle raconte un instant de vie, qu'elle découvre un trait du caractère de celui qui en est l'objet ou de celui qui la raconte; bref, l'essentiel, c'est qu'elle *porte*. Tant pis, après, si elle cingle, si elle étreint, si elle érafle, si elle brûle, et tant mieux si elle instruit, si elle charme, si elle éveille en nous une note gaie ou poétique ou si elle nous bonifie ou nous édifie. Disons, enfin, que celui qui raconte une anecdote doit, autant que possible, la donner pour vraie, même s'il ne la croit pas telle... Encore qu'il entre d'ordinaire beaucoup d'imagination et d'invention dans les anecdotes qui volent de bouche en bouche et dans celles qui se fixent aux pages des livres, il est indispensable qu'elles flattent de préférence la crédulité que le scepticisme de l'auditeur ou du lecteur...

Vous avez tous entendu et lu, je le sais bien, d'innombrables anecdotes,

mais j'ai la naïveté de croire que je peux vous en servir quelques-unes qui ont échappé à vos oreilles et à vos yeux, ou, du moins, qui ont échappé à votre mémoire. A ce dessein, j'ai fait, à travers ma bibliothèque, des perquisitions nombreuses, j'ai feuilleté bien des ouvrages anciens et modernes et aussi pas mal de revues et de journaux. Tout ce que je vous demande, en retour de ma peine, c'est de faire semblant, si vous connaissez déjà ces anecdotes, de ne pas les savoir, et, surtout, de ne pas me couper le fil. Les Américains, qui aiment à répéter sans cesse les mêmes histoires drôlatiques, les Américains à qui il arrive de soupçonner qu'en fait ces histoires ont « de la barbe », ont une manière assez étrange de s'excuser. Ils disent : *Stop me, if...* Je vous demanderai exactement le contraire : si mes anecdotes sont déjà dans votre répertoire, laissez-moi poursuivre, je vous en prie... Je ne doute d'ailleurs pas de votre politesse et de votre indulgence.

Je n'entends pas, dans cette causerie de quelques minutes, rassembler des anecdotes selon un ordre chronologique, ce qui serait en quelque sorte tenter de faire une œuvre historique monumentale, pas plus que je n'entends suivre un ordre alphabétique, comme l'a déjà fait d'ailleurs excellemment un Français, M. Edmond Guérard, auteur d'un dictionnaire encyclopédique d'anecdotes. Ce que j'ai fait, c'est ce que vous auriez pu faire aussi bien que moi et mieux que moi, c'est-à-dire composer une gerbe d'histoires, non pas cueillies dans un dictionnaire, mais comme je l'ai dit tout à l'heure, à travers mes livres et la multitude de revues et de journaux que mon métier de journaliste m'oblige à lire, du moins à feuilleter rapidement. Ne soyez donc pas surpris si ces anecdotes échappent à toute méthode de classement et si elles portent sur des gens très divers par leur profession et leur métier, par leur naissance et leur caractère, par leurs origines et par leurs mœurs. Cette gerbe d'anecdotes est avant tout une macédoine.

Pour vous prouver tout de suite que je ne me propose pas d'aller chercher dans les jardins mirifiques du Paradis terrestre la première de ces anecdotes, j'en cueille immédiatement une dans un journal de l'Ouest canadien qui, probablement, la réédite après mille autres publications. C'est un épisode du conflit qui, vous le savez, a pas mal occupé le monde de 1939 à 1945...

On conduisait au poste allemand un Français accusé d'avoir écouté la radio étrangère. Le Herr lieutenant boche lui demande, plein de courroux :

— Alors, vous prenez Londres, vous ?

— Monsieur, répondit le Français, ce que vous, les Allemands, avec vos canons, vos avions, toute votre armée, n'avez pas encore pu faire, comment voulez-vous que moi, tout seul, je puisse le faire ?

En voici une autre, plus récente encore. Vous savez qu'à Paris on ne craint pas de recourir aux noms suggestifs pour baptiser les parfums dont les Français font une grande consommation et, surtout, les parfums que l'on destine au gogos américains. Toujours est-il qu'aux environs de Noël, un chic magasin de la Fifth Avenue, à New-York, était fièrement

tout un assortiment des essences françaises les plus rares, toutes, bien entendu, marquées à des prix astronomiques. Or, après avoir fendu la foule pour s'approcher du comptoir où ces aguichantes créations parisiennes étaient artistement rangées, voilà qu'une toute jeune fille aborde la vendeuse et s'enquiert du nom de ces beaux produits... Et la vendeuse de dire :

— Nous avons : Mon Pêché, Scandale, Fugue, Toujours Moi, Tout à toi, Fatalité, Amour d'un soir, La Minute Exquise, Abandon...

C'était vraiment trop, tellement trop que la jeune fille, un peu timide — on en rencontre encore — dit à son tour à la vendeuse :

— Tout cela est troublant, magnifique, mais n'avez-vous rien pour une commençante ?...

Les noms de ces parfums avaient évidemment troublé Mademoiselle...

Puisque nous parlons des Américains, comment ne pas vous servir au moins une anecdote concernant le célèbre humoriste Mark Twain ?

On lui présentait, un jour, une liste de souscriptions ayant pour objet la construction d'un mur autour du cimetière d'une localité et on le pressait d'y aller de sa contribution. Finalement, après s'être gratté le front, l'humoriste dit au solliciteur :

— Je trouve cette dépense parfaitement inutile. Car, voyez-vous, ceux qui sont dans le cimetière n'en peuvent sortir, et ceux qui n'y sont pas encore ne désirent pas tant que ça y entrer.

Tête du solliciteur !

Un prince de l'anecdote fut Nicolas Chamfort, littérateur et essayiste du dix-huitième siècle. Il est spirituel, il est mordant, il est cynique et, souvent, canaille, mais il a le don de vous ramasser une histoire en quelques lignes. Il a tantôt recours à la médisance et tantôt à la calomnie, ce qui revient à dire que s'il est fréquemment injuste, il n'est jamais terne ! D'ailleurs, le monde aime tant les histoires épicées, pimentées, saugrenues, les histoires que l'on colporte à l'aise sur le compte du voisin, quitte à en nier la paternité, au besoin.

Voici donc une anecdote de Chamfort sur un thème qui lui est assez familier. Elle est un peu scabreuse, mais comme elle n'est pas pour le journal de demain, je la risque :

— M. de Brabançon, qui avait été très beau, possédait un très joli jardin que Madame la duchesse de La Vallière alla voir. Le propriétaire, alors très vieux et très goutteux, lui dit qu'il avait été amoureux d'elle à la folie. Madame de La Vallière lui répondit : « Hélas ! mon Dieu, que ne parliez-vous alors ? vous m'auriez eue comme les autres... »

Ça c'est du Chamfort médisant ou calomniateur, mais voici une autre histoire en quatre lignes où il ne se montre que taquin :

L'abbé Delille devait lire des vers à l'Académie pour la réception d'un de ses amis. Sur quoi il disait : « Je voudrais bien qu'on ne le sût pas d'avance, mais je crains bien de le dire à tout le monde. »

Parfois, Chamfort ne désigne que par des initiales ceux à qui il décoche ses traits. En voici un exemple :

On disait à M. N..., académicien : « Vous vous marierez un jour. » Il répondit : « J'ai tant plaisanté l'Académie, et j'en suis; j'ai toujours peur qu'il m'arrive la même chose pour le mariage. »

Une autre anecdote assez maligne de ce vieux garçon de Chamfort est celle-ci :

Une fille étant à confesse, dit : « Je m'accuse d'avoir estimé un jeune homme. — Estimé ! combien de fois ? » demanda le Père.

Cette fois, Chamfort fut assez charitable pour ne nommer personne...

Encore une anecdote de lui, avant de passer à d'autres :

M. B... me disait, à propos des fautes de régime qu'il commet sans cesse, des plaisirs qu'il se permet et qui l'empêchent seuls de recouvrer la santé : « Sans moi, je me porterais à merveille. »

De Piron, tout le monde connaît l'épithète qu'il écrivit pour lui-même et qui est en même temps l'un des plus cuisants traits jamais décochés à l'Académie française :

Ci-gît, Piron, qui ne fut rien,
Pas même Académicien,

mais il y a aussi sur lui, de lui et contre lui d'innombrables anecdotes. Retenons celle-ci, en passant :

— Je voudrais, lui disait un jour un auteur médiocre, je voudrais travailler à un ouvrage où personne n'eût travaillé et ne travaillât jamais. « Travaillez à votre éloge », lui dit Piron.

On ne dit pas si le pauvre homme insista ou alla se tuer...

Les anecdotes sur les peintres, les sculpteurs, les architectes, les musiciens, les journalistes, les médecins, les avocats, les romanciers, la noblesse et la plèbe pullulent. Mais il faut choisir. Choisissons.

Du peintre Watteau, on raconte qu'étant à l'article de la mort, son confesseur lui présenta un crucifix, et que l'ayant regardé, il ne put trouver que ces mots :

— Otez-moi donc ce crucifix ! Comment un artiste a-t-il pu rendre si mal les traits de Dieu !

Un autre peintre, Louis David, avait une profonde admiration pour son grand oncle, le peintre François Boucher. Un jour qu'il voulait traduire cette vive admiration en présence de quelques habitués de son studio, il ne trouva rien de mieux que cette phrase : « N'est pas Boucher qui veut ! »

Il paraît que ses amis restèrent bouche bée...

Non, il n'est pas défendu aux peintres d'avoir de l'esprit ailleurs qu'au bout de leur pinceau. Témoin cette répartie du grand artiste Carrière au peintre Bouguereau, qui lui demandait, un jour, ce qu'il pensait de sa peinture :

— J'en pense, j'en pense... dit-il, que de tous ceux qui font du Bouguereau, c'est vous qui êtes le plus fort.

Par ailleurs, le peintre Corot raconte, dans ses souvenirs, que son père eût voulu le voir s'adonner à un métier pratique plutôt qu'à l'art.

Mon père, a-t-il écrit, trouvait que la peinture était un métier de paresseux, et il me dit au moment où je me mis à peindre : « Je t'aurais donné cent mille francs pour t'acheter un fonds de commerce, mais tu n'auras que deux mille francs par an, cela t'apprendra... allons, va et amuse-toi bien. » Et Corot d'ajouter : « Je n'ai jamais oublié les paroles de mon père, je me suis toujours bien amusé. »

Il a fait plus : il a laissé des œuvres immortelles.

Un jour, un ami confia à Titien qu'un critique quelconque trouvait dans son tableau : *Saint Pierre martyr*, ses chairs trop rouges. Indigné, Titien répliqua :

— Elles ne sont si rouges que par leur colère de voir tant de peintres qui n'ont pas de sang dans les veines critiquer les chefs-d'œuvre.

Il paraît que le peintre anglais Gainsborough aimait follement la musique, comme il paraît que Victor Hugo ne l'aimait pas. Je ne saurais confirmer ni l'un ni l'autre de ces jugements, étant né trop tard dans un siècle trop vieux et, par conséquent, n'ayant jamais eu le privilège d'être admis dans le cercle intime de ce grand peintre et de l'auteur de la *Légende des siècles*. On raconte, cependant, deux anecdotes sur le compte de Gainsborough et de Hugo qui prouvent, en autant qu'une anecdote puisse prouver quelque chose, qu'en effet le premier se délectait dans la compagnie des musiciens, cependant que le second ne les appréciait guère. Voici ces anecdotes :

Un jour, un certain colonel Hamilton jouait du violon chez Gainsborough qui, au milieu de son ravissement, s'écria : « Continuez, continuez, colonel, et je vous donnerai le tableau de *L'Enfant à la barrière*, que vous m'avez si souvent prié de vous vendre. »

Le colonel continua et quand le morceau fut fini, le célèbre peintre alla chercher la peinture et la fit porter dans la voiture du violoniste.

Et maintenant, une anecdote qui confirmerait le fait que Victor Hugo n'aimait pas beaucoup la musique :

Le poète de la *Tristesse d'Olympio* recevait des amis chez lui, et l'on suppliait le maître de vouloir bien surmonter un instant son aversion pour la musique, au profit d'un jeune virtuose dont le talent méritait d'être encouragé. Victor Hugo y consent et, sans sourciller, écoute le musicien précoce. A la fin du morceau, on supplie le poète de bien vouloir dire quelques mots aimables à celui qui vient de charmer si parfaitement les oreilles de l'assistance. Alors, Hugo, avec une petite tape sur la tête du virtuose, lui dit paternellement : « Très bien, très bien, mon petit ami, mais... il ne faut plus recommencer. »

Voici, à propos de musique et de musiciens, une autre anecdote :

Le célèbre musicien Rameau, rendant visite à une belle dame, se lève tout

à coup de sa chaise, prend un petit chien qu'elle avait sur les genoux, et le jette subitement par la fenêtre d'un troisième étage. « Eh ! que faites-vous ? de lui dire la dame épouvantée, que faites-vous, monsieur ? » « Il aboie faux ! » de répondre Rameau, indigné...

Autre anecdote sur un musicien :

Le célèbre violoniste Sarasate, agacé, un soir, par l'infatigable éventail d'une dame placée au premier rang, s'arrêta net, en disant : « Comment voulez-vous que je joue dans un mouvement deux-quatre, alors qu'avec votre éventail vous battez la mesure à six-huit ? »

Les architectes me pardonneront sans doute si j'allonge un peu cette causerie d'une anecdote qui concerne l'un de leurs plus illustres devanciers : Apollodore, architecte romain. Voici :

On rapporte qu'un jour l'empereur Trajan et l'architecte Apollodore, conférant ensemble sur le plan d'un monument, celui qui devait plus tard porter le nom d'empereur Adrien vint étourdiment donner son avis. L'architecte, impatienté, l'interrompit vivement et le pria de se retirer sur ces mots : « Allez donc peindre des citrouilles ! vous n'entendez rien à l'architecture. »

Le littérateur français Tallemant des Réaux, célèbre par ses *Historiettes*, raconte que le roi Charles IX ayant demandé à un poète de son temps de quoi il s'était avisé de se marier très vieux avec une toute jeune fille, il reçut cette réponse : « Sire, c'est une licence poétique. »

Dans ce même ordre d'idées, les anecdotes foisonnent. Permettez seulement que j'ajoute celle-ci :

Un prédicateur, chargé de prêcher — il paraît que cela se faisait en ce temps-là — au mariage du poète satirique Agrippa d'Aubigné, âgé de 77 ans, et qui épousait une jeune personne de dix-sept ans, choisit pour texte de sermon : « Pardonnez-leur, car ils ne savent ce qu'ils font. »

Il existe aussi mille et une anecdotes pour et contre les médecins, et je pense que c'est être de bon compte que d'en rappeler au moins une de chaque espèce. Les voici, telles que je les trouve dans le *Dictionnaire d'anecdotes* de Guérard :

Un jour, Frédéric le Grand dit à son médecin : « Parlons franchement, docteur ; combien avez-vous tué d'hommes pendant votre vie ? » — Sire, répondit le médecin, à peu près trois cent mille de moins que Votre Majesté. »

Et cette autre, moins aimable pour les disciples d'Esculape :

Voltaire demandait à un jeune homme quel état il allait prendre : « Celui de médecin, lui répondit-il. » — « C'est-à-dire, répliqua Voltaire, que vous allez mettre des drogues que vous ne connaissez pas dans des corps que vous connaissez encore moins. »

Les médecins de l'âme eux-mêmes n'ont point échappé aux traits piquants des railleurs. Témoin cette anecdote, plus drôle qu'irrespectueuse :

Le Père Cotton, jésuite, dirigeait la conscience du roi Henri IV. Et les mauvaises langues disaient à ce propos : « Notre roi est un bon prince, qui aime la vérité ; c'est dommage qu'il ait du coton dans les oreilles ! »

Il y aurait, de même, une ample cueillette de petites histoires à faire chez les modernes et les contemporains, car l'Anecdote ne perd jamais ses droits. Permettez donc que je vous en rapporte quelques-unes, et ce sera tout.

D'abord, celle-ci sur l'incorrigible Bernard Shaw, qui célébrait son quatre-vingt-dixième anniversaire, sans modifier en rien sa tâche quotidienne.

Un curieux lui demandait :

— Cher maître, à quelle époque auriez-vous voulu vivre ?

Et Bernard Shaw de répondre : « Sous le Premier Empire ! A cette époque, un seul homme se croyait Napoléon ! »

Et que dire de ce mot du célèbre Oscar Wilde, que rapportait dernièrement les *Nouvelles Littéraires* :

Un auteur médiocre se lamentait devant lui :

— On a organisé contre moi une conspiration du silence ! que puis-je faire ?

— Entrez dans la conspiration ! répondit Wilde.

Voici un autre mot cuisant contre un poète sans talent qui, il y a peu d'années, adressait au grand écrivain allemand Gerhardt Hauptmann un recueil de poèmes, en lui disant qu'il ne livrerait ses œuvres au public qu'après sa mort...

— Je vous souhaite longue vie ! lui répondit Hauptmann.

On ne dit pas si le pauvre amant des Muses éprouva un grand réconfort. Terminons par deux anecdotes se rapportant au monde du théâtre.

Un Parisien demandait un jour à l'acteur Carette des nouvelles d'un couple d'artistes légitimement mariés et séparés depuis plusieurs mois à l'amiable :

— Ils s'entendent toujours parfaitement et continuent de vivre en très bonne mésintelligence, dit Carette.

L'autre anecdote est du fameux cinéaste français, Yves Mirande. Quelqu'un lui ayant manifesté sa surprise de voir tel célèbre comédien faire conquête après conquête et devenir en quelque sorte la coqueluche des dames, Mirande lui dit :

— Ma foi, je ne sais pas comment il fait pour courir tant de lèvres... à la fois !

Et voilà ma cueillette au champ des anecdotes terminée. J'ose croire que ce petit travail, amusant pour moi, ne vous aura pas trop désappointés. Au reste, vous avez toute ressource et toute liberté d'y ajouter ou d'y retrancher, selon que telle ou telle historiette vous aura plu ou déplu, ou plus ou moins déridé. Le répertoire est immense dans tous les pays, dans toutes les langues, et il y en a pour tous les goûts, pour tous les types humains, pour toutes les classes, pour tous les métiers et professions, mais nulle part, je crois, plus que chez les Français, car, comme l'a dit Boileau, si le Fran-

çais, né malin, forma le vaudeville, on le soupçonne aussi d'avoir inventé l'anecdote...

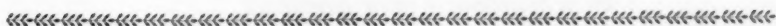
Inventée ou non par les Français, il est sûr que l'Anecdote est née du désir de l'homme de marquer un instant de vie, un sujet de ridicule, une parole heureuse, une réflexion aimable ou acidulée, voire une tentative d'atteindre à la célébrité. Certains hommes, désireux de passer à la postérité, se croient obligés de multiplier les écrits et de garnir de leurs œuvres un ou plusieurs rayons de bibliothèque. Mais d'autres perpétuent leur mémoire en ne frappant qu'un ou plusieurs bons mots. Libre à vous, messieurs, de tenter votre chance où, quand, comment et contre qui vous voudrez. L'important est d'échapper au péril du ridicule et de ne pas oublier que, selon Pascal, « celui qui veut faire l'ange fait la bête » et que, selon l'immortel La Fontaine :

*Dieu ne créa que pour les sots
Les méchants diseurs de bons mots.*

MEMOIRES DE LA SOCIETE ROYALE DU CANADA

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PREMIERE SECTION



Comme l'aigle en sa superbe, noir et crucifié de lumière

MAURICE HÉBERT, M.S.R.C.

I

APOSTROPHE DU TÉMOIN À DON JUAN

Le Témoin

T'es-tu fui
Toi-même,
Don Juan,
Toi que toute femme maudit ?

T'es-tu repentí ?

.

Franchissant
Fossés et douves
De ces châteaux,
T'es-tu vraiment
Assez fui
Toi-même,
Parmi meutes, et loups et louves;
T'es-tu fui,
Et assez tôt !
Pour te repentir
De ta vie
Et de son désir,
Toi que Dieu
Peut
À tout jamais maudire ?

Non ! car voici que tu te retrouves
Le même,
Et qui t'aimes
Toi-même,
Férocement
Lâché
En ton péché,
Au lieu
De divinement
Aimer et servir

La Sainteté de Dieu
En les Ames.

Tu te retournes, à peine désenseveli
De ton lit
Infâme,
Et te retrouves
Aussitôt
Le même
Don Juan
Du même
Péché,
En d'autres draps,
Quand tu le veux
Et le voudras.

.

De femme
En femme,
De nuit
En nuit,
Et d'an
En an,
Sempiternellement
Suspendu,
Éperdu,
Hors de ton aire
Natale; déchu
Et vertigineux,
En ta démençe
Altière,
Bravant
Jusques à Dieu;
Toi,
Le sans foi
Ni loi,
Ni clémence,
Ni délivrance
De ton péché,
Penché
Sur l'Abîme,
Y roulant
Avec ta proie,
Et te croyant
L'ultime

Défi d'un Don Juan
 Qui planerait
 Au fin sommet
 De l'Univers,
 Comme le plein soleil en sa propre lumière...

.....

II

DON JUAN, LE TÉMOIN ET DONA JUANA

Don Juan, au témoin qu'il chasse

Moucheron
 Rabat-joie,
 Écarte-toi
 De mon impérieuse Voie !

.....

Comme l'Aigle, par delà les monts,
 Que les rayons
 Du soleil enserrent,
 Comme l'Aigle, en sa superbe, noir
 Et crucifié de lumière,
 Au plus vif de son erre,
 D'écueil
 En écueil
 De lumière
 Et d'orgueil,
 Je suis jeté,
 Tout éployé,
 Tout noyé
 De gloire,
 Aux profondeurs des cieux
 De l'Amour;
 Et les divins essieux
 Sur quoi roulent le jour
 Et ma Nuit en sont tout ébranlés,
 Qui chantent mes victoires.

.....

Pitoyable moucheron
 Désailé,
 T'écartant
 De ma Voie,
 Vois
 Doña Juana et Don Juan,

Par delà les monts,
 Crucifiés en ma lumière
 Et la crucifiant.

.

Don Juan, seul avec Doña Juana qu'il emmène

Et toi,
 Ma Doña
 Juana,
 Je te ramène
 En cette Voie
 Mienne.

Avec toi,
 Je suis projeté,
 Échevelé,
 Foudroyé
 Et foudroyant,
 Dans le fulgurant
 Océan
 Des caresses
 Et leur Néant.

Je suis vaincu
 Et triomphant
 D'amoureuses violences,
 Ô ma déesse,
 Des douceurs et violences
 Que tu me laisses
 Dans ton sillage, ô ma déesse
 Et souveraine
 Maîtresse,
 Ma Doña
 Juana.

.

Vaincu
 Et triomphant,
 Ayant vécu
 L'Instant,
 À celui-ci je te ramène.

.

Doña Juana, qui suit Don Juan

Comment te honnir ?
 Comment, hélas ! te bénir ?

Comment nous fuir ?
 (Car *te* fuir, c'est hors de toi *me* fuir.)
 Où courir
 Où je ne sois
 Pas
 Avec toi ?
 Où courir
 Sans mes pas attachés à tes pas ?
 Où voler
 Que ton aile
 Fraternelle
 Ne soit l'autre aile
 De la même envolée ?
 À quel soleil me fier
 Que je ne sois moi-même avec toi crucifiée ?

III

ÉVOCATION DE L'INSTANT

Don Juan

Il monte, de la cire
 Vibrante de nos souvenirs,
 Tout l'Instant, l'intègre et intégral Instant
 De notre accord
 Triomphant :
 Tous les souffles, les orchestres, les buccins, les oliphants
 Des Espaces et des Vents ;
 Il sourd encore
 Comme un subtil
 Nard
 De l'amphore
 À jamais fissurée,
 À jamais malmurée,
 En l'écart
 De nos âmes et corps,
 Et qui se répand
 Aux parfums des Îles
 De la Nuit.

Que je fuie
 Notre Nuit
 À peine luie ?

Ah ! non ! N'es-tu pas mon esclave, —
Et moi, ton enclave ?

Tu reviendras :
Trop tu te souviens !

Plus adorable et plus belle, tu reviens
Et reviendras.

Encore
Parfumés que nous sommes de tous les nards
De l'amphore,
Mon âme lovée en la tienne,
Qu'il te souviennne !
Si tard
Dans la Nuit,
De nos souvenirs
Et devenir
À peine luis.

Tu reviendras,
Extatique,
Ô mon amante magnifique
Tu reviens et reviendras !

Car revenir
N'est point, après l'absence
Faire retour,
Mon amour.
Et retourner
Serait déjà s'être détourné,
Sans présence,
Ne fût-ce qu'un éclair, mais sans recours,
Mon amour.

Revenir,
C'est, pour nous,
N'avoir jamais été absents
De l'Instant;
Par la ferveur
Et la libéralité
Du cœur,
C'est ne point nous être quittés, —
C'est venir,

Chaque fois sans détour,
Mon amour.

Revenir,
C'est savoir que tout
Ce qui fut nous
Reste nous,
À nous,
Pour nous;
Et que tout,
Pour nous
Et par nous,
Demeure sans rebours,
Mon amour.

Tout
En nous
N'est-il pas évocation
De ce qui a été,
Intégration
De ce qui est,
Préfiguration
De ce qui sera
Et demeurera
Ainsi sans secours,
Mon amour ?

Tout,
Pour nous
Est,
Du seul fait
Qu'ayant
Été
Il *est*,
Étant
De nouveau,
Et de nouveau
Devant
Être,
Par notre continuité
En l'unité
Affective de nos êtres,
En le souvenir
De ce qui a été
Et perdure,
En la constance de ce qui *est*

Et préfigure, —
 Par le devenir
 De ce qui sera
 Et perdurera,
 En nos demeures, où qu'elles soient, et sans retour,
 Mon amour.

.

Ah ! que tu reviens et reviendras
 Entre ces bras !

.

IV

NOUS QUI SOUS-TENDONS L'AXE DU MONDE

Doña Juana

Et, mon doux bien,
 Je te reviens !

Don Juan

Ah ! ces fragrances et ces musiques
 Orphiques,
 Qui soulèvent et enlèvent l'Instant,
 Le magnifiant,
 Le déliant,
 Le reliant,
 Le formant et reformant,
 Le signifiant
 D'un signe indélébile,
 Au contour de nos souvenirs
 Immobiles,
 Aux presciences de nos devenir
 Inéluctables et stériles...

Jusqu'à notre couche les dards
 Du soleil filtrent à travers
 Les verts
 Et comme liquides pins et mélèzes
 De notre antique
 Parc
 Nordique,
 L'arc
 Du soleil et ses fards
 Nous tentent de clartés et d'ombres,
 Jusqu'au divin malaise.

.

Soleil couchant
 Sur l'Instant,
 Ombres et soleil qui nous dénombrent
 Jusqu'à l'aise et malaise.

.

Et cette
 Brûlure
 Alternée est faite
 De l'incandescence
 De l'Instant,
 Et de ton séjour
 De toujours,
 Amour,
 Après ta dure
 Absence
 D'un jour,
 Amour.

Doña Juana

Faite de l'ineffable transmutation
 De toi en moi,
 Et de moi en toi,
 Dès ta présence,
 Amour.

.

Don Juan

Nous que plus rien ne dompte !
 Du Guadalquivir au Tage, du Danube à l'Oronte,
 Ô fusion,
 Transfixion,
 Totale prévarication en la totale obsession
 De l'Instant.

.

Ô ma Roseraie au bord de l'Oronte,
 Ô mon Paradis Persan,
 Au bord de tous les Cieux
 D'Orient
 Et d'Occident !
 Ô riant
 Délire des larmes,
 Alarmes,
 Charmes
 Qu'irise le soleil, comme s'il enfermait la Joie !

Ô volcan
 D'Océanie, et d'Asie et d'Amérique,
 Né de soi,
 Dépouillé de soi pour moi,
 En nous qui sommes les axes de feu
 Sous-tendant
 L'Axe du Monde,
 Par la seule force de notre jeu
 Inique,
 Par la seule densité
 De la seule immensité
 De notre feu
 Unique !
 Nous qui sous-tendons l'Axe du Monde...

V

IMAGES DES VAISSEAUX

Doña Juana

Et tout de moi
 (Qui n'est qu'à toi)
 Fait la blessure plus incisive, si profonde !
 Au souvenir des souvenirs,
 Au devenir des ressouvenirs
 Et des redevenirs,
 Submergés
 Par les désirs
 Et redésirs
 Que j'ai, —
 Que nous avons,
 Nous qui nous souvenons
 De cette amour si profonde...

Don Juan

Tu te souviens de ta main dans ma main,
 Et des rêts
 Et filets
 De nos regards
 Étoilés,
 Car
 Tes yeux ne voient plus que par mes regards
 Et mes souvenirs ne se souviennent qu'en les tiens.

Tu te souviens, je me souviens
 De la splendeur de tes seins, de ta taille et de tes reins,
 Et de tes membres et de leur membrure
 Dévoilés,
 Ô beau,
 Si beau
 Vaisseau
 Sans voilure,
 Ô flanc puissant
 Contre mon flanc !

Doña Juana

Et de nos bras
 Nous enlaçant
 Comme l'ombre et la lumière des mâts
 Sur l'eau se balançant,
 Muets et mutuellement,
 Comme l'ombre et la lumière entremêlés
 Des mâts,
 Au rythme des carènes, aux aiguades
 Des bienheureuses
 Rades
 Mystérieuses.

Don Juan

Comme les mâts enchevêtrés
 Des grands voiliers rencontrés
 L'un contre l'autre,
 Étrave à étrave, tête à tête,
 En la tempête,
 Sous les lanières des vents
 Cinglants,
 Sans gouvernail et sans boussole,
 L'un contre l'autre !

Ô fureurs de l'Océan
 À l'assaut
 Des vaisseaux
 Et des môles !

.

Ô ces odeurs de goëmons, et celles
 Du sel,
 Des vins, des cinabres, des nards !
 Ô ces deux voiliers,

Chargés
 Pour les départs
 Vers les bonheurs que j'ai
 Et que tu as,
 Plein nos bras !

Et ces voiliers,
 Les voici plongés,
 Informes gisants,
 Agrès
 Contre agrès,
 Éventrés,

Flanc contre flanc !

Don Juan, comme tourné de force vers le Seigneur

Dieu, ô Dieu qui me poursuis,
 Ce péché-ci
 Sera-t-il donc aussi
 Un autre néant
 Pour Don Juan ?

Don Juan, imprécatore

Te tairas-tu jamais, ô Toi qui me poursuis ?

VI

CES VIES JOINTES

Doña Juana, câline

Je me souviens,
 Mon bien, mon lien,
 Et te reviens
 Plus encore toute tienne.

Don Juan, frénétique

J'ai le rouge fruit de ta bouche déclosé,
 Et tes blanches
 Hanches
 Marmoréennes,
 Et ta gorge aux bruissantes roses,
 Roses dorées

D'abeilles : mes baisers !
 Et nous sommes centrés
 Au centre de notre Univers,
 Sans envers, ni revers, ni hivers.

Splendeurs exangues d'albâtre chaude,
 Toujours revivante

Ô mon amante,
 Ces laudes,
 Ces réveils à l'aube,
 Cette fluide aube
 Que te font mes bras,
 Que me font tes bras !

Doña Juana

Car je reviens...

Don Juan

Et toujours tu reviendras.

Vois combien
 Sont jointes nos Vies !

Ma Vie :
 Neuve et ancienne,
 Inassouvissable inassouvie,
 Sans possible cesse ni trépas,
 Ineffablement
 Tienne,
 Et, par toi, revivant
 Ces Nuits d'hier
 Qui nous lièrent,
 Nous mêlant
 À ces Nuits
 D'aujourd'hui
 Qui nous lient,
 Et à toutes celles qui nous lieront,
 Les lendemains,
 Sur nos chemins !

Doña Juana

Qui nous lieront ?...

Ma Vie :
Ô lierre
Qui s'attache, et vigne
Qui provigne
En ta Vie,
Et aile
Nouvelle
Du bel
Oiseau
Tout chaud,
Tout rond,
Peletonné, frissonneux,
Tendre et vorace oisillon,
Bonheur
Blotti
Au creux
De la main
De l'Oiseleur,
Sur nos chemins !

Don Juan

Mais Vie
Donnée et prise, inoubliablement
Mienne,
Si
Mienne
Que si,
Dans notre émoi.
Je desserrais
Mes doigts,
Tu ne t'envolerais
Plus,
Étant
Vaincue, —
Comme tu m'as vaincu
Et pris,
Bel Oiseau
Vainqueur
De ton Oiseleur...

Ô mon Rossignol de l'Oronte,
Ô mon Oiseau du Paradis,
Ô ma Rose de Saadi,
Ô ma Myrrhe d'Arabie,
Ô ma Roseraie aux Rosiers que je compte,

Ô mon Conte entre tous les Contes,
 Ô ma Vérité
 De toute Réalité,
 Ô mes Mille et Une Nuits
 En une tunique
 D'Or et de Nuit
 Resserrées, condensées,
 Galbées !

Doña Juana

Est-ce assez
 Que nous nous souvenions
 De nos Nuits
 Des tropiques
 Édéniques
 Et de nos splénétiques
 Nuits
 Nordiques,
 Et, inépuisablement,
 Les revivions ?

Don Juan

Or, nous les revivons,
 Magiques
 D'une telle Magie ! en ces continents
 Aux pays
 Miens,
 Puisqu'ils sont également
 Tiens !

.

Et le Ciel même ne peut nous arracher
 À ce péché.

.

VII

EN CES VICTORIEUSES NUITS D'ÉTÉ

Doña Juana

En ces terres
 Et pays
 Par nous et à nous impartis
 (Tels royaumes aux rois)
 S'abritèrent
 Tant d'émois !

Don Juan

Terres
Et pays
Que nous habitons,
Ici,
Tous en un, à la fois.

Doña Juana

Et nos mains, dès le seuil,
Nous y font signe
De bon accueil.

Don Juan

Où nous sommes
Et habitons,
Dignes ou indignes,
Comme
Pour nous seuls resplendit,
Chaque fois,
Sans arrhes ni gages,
Ni contredit
Ni bagages,
Le divers
Voyage
En le même Univers !

Doña Juana

Marqués du même signe,
Aux mêmes lignes
De nos mains,
Nous qui l'un et l'autre y lisons,
Nous qui l'un et l'autre nous habitons,
Plus fabuleux et plus vrais que tous les pays,
Proches ou lointains,
À nous impartis.

Don Juan

Ma Doña
Juana,
Que nous soyons ici
Ou là,
Là ou ici,
Se renouvelle,
De plus en plus hardie
De plus en plus acquise,

En son combat
Et ses surprises,
Notre possession,
Dès l'imposition
Réciproque de nos mains,
Car nous sommes prisonniers
De ce carcel
Aux barreaux sans pitié,
Nos désirs, nos regards, nos bras, nos mains.

Ivres
De vivre et se poursuivre,
Se cherchant
Dans l'ombre,
Emportant
Nos désirs, nos regards et nos bras
Au ras
De l'ombre,
Nous recherchant,
Dans l'imposition
De leur lumière
À l'ombre
Et de leur ombre
À la lumière,
Élancées, délassées, lançant
L'ombre à la lumière
Et la lumière à l'ombre,
Au champ
Charnel d'ombre et de lumière,
Nos mains, nos mains,
L'une l'autre se violentant,
Se cédant,
Se touchant,
Se détachant
De nous,
Fugitives,
Inventives,
Pour nous toucher,
Tout à coup
Tellement
Autres
Que les nôtres,
Peut-être
Détachées
De nous

(Alors
 Extérieures à nous,
 Comme par un mouvement
 Du dehors),
 Pour mieux s'emparer
 De nos êtres
 Éclatés
 De feu et d'ombre,
 Et s'en emparant,
 En ces victorieuses Nuits d'Été
 De nos Embrassements !

Doña Juana

Nos paumes dressées,
 L'une contre l'autre pressées,
 Plus ombres que l'ombre
 Et plus claires que la clarté
 D'Été,
 Éclatée
 Malgré l'ombre;
 Nos paumes, parant
 Les chocs de mon cœur contre le tien,
 Et du tien contre le mien,
 Et les recevant,
 Pour nos Embrassements !

Don Juan

Nos mains, nos bras, nos regards, nos désirs, nous scellant
 L'un à l'autre, déments,
 Corps
 À corps.

.
 Ô ma Maîtresse et ma Reine,
 Voici que reviennent,
 Ô toute Mienne,
 Nos cris,
 Nos cris
 Tumultueux,
 Perçant,
 Rompant
 Le tympan
 Même des Cicux.

(Sans honte,
 Qu'il t'en souviennne,

Ô toute Mienne
Des bords de tous nos Orontes.)

.

Nos mains, nos bras, nos regards, nos désirs, nous scellant
L'un à l'autre, déments,
Sous tous les Cieux,
En la complicité
Sans honte
De ces Victorieuses Nuits d'Été.

.

.

VIII

TOUTES LES CHAÎNES...

Le Témoin, qui surgit du fond de l'ombre se rapproche graduellement

Sans honte ?...

.

Oui, qu'il te souviennne,
Mais pour ta honte !
Et qu'il te souviennne
Bien au delà...

.

Le Témoin, de plus en plus agressif

Ô Juan,
Ose évoquer devant toi
Les mains,
Les bras,
De tant
De Juanas
Convivées !

Ces élans,
Par toi
Déviés,
En leur chemin
Vers
La Prière
Et la Bénédiction.

Les reculs, les pudeurs,
La gamme
Décroissante des hésitations;
Les brusques illuminations,

Les rigueurs
De l'âme,
Et ses défaillances;
Les réticences
Des voix et des sens,
Et l'abandon
À toi,
Sans pardon...

Car qui t'a jamais pardonné,
À toi,
Le mal reçu et donné ?

Toi qui suintes et étales
Le scandale...

Toi qui règles les marchandages des proxénètes,
Et dispenses leur
Hideur !

Toi,
Et tes tristes fêtes !
L'effroi
Qu'elles ont encore de toi,
Ces femmes
Que ton souffle a avilies,
En guise d'épithalame...

Toi, le tout-puissant parmi la faiblesse
Et la présomption
De la jeunesse
Abusée,
Les consciences abolies,
Leur trouble en toi
Réjoui.

La pitié refusée,
Les doutes infusés;
Ta prouesse
D'engendrer l'abjection
Qui s'incrute
À toi...

Ta joie :
Les souleurs
De la peur
Que tu inspires...

Tes rires !...

Mais les colères,
La haine, les coups, les crachats des pères
Et mères;
La vindicte et le dégoût
De tous,
Sans exception,
Justes
Et injustes;
L'exécration
Des époux;
Les enlacements
De la sainte possession
Conjugale adultérés,
Frustrés,
Par toi !

Les gestes du travail et du dévouement,
Les ferveurs
Du cœur,
Toutes les sauvegardes, toutes les puretés bafouées,
Par toi
Et tes roués.

Toutes les marques de l'authentique grandeur
Méprisées,
Ridiculisées,
Avec leur expression
La plus chère
Sur notre terre
Ignominieusement
Scandalisée,
Ô Juan,
Par toi !

Cendres des foyers
Détruits,
Rebuts de ces Mille et Trois
Amours broyées :

Sous tes mains,
Dans tes bras,
Voilà
Tes fruits
Inhumains,

Et ton convoi
Après toi !
Ton œuvre à toi,
Et ton charroi
D'Éternité.

Toi ! Toi ! Toi !
La monstrueuse incongruité...

.
.

Le Témoin, le regard plongé dans le passé

Et ces viriles mains,
En ta jeunesse
À toi,
Hélas ! sans lendemain,
Jadis encore ointes de leur noblesse,
Si loyales en ta première tendresse;
Et tes bras, alors prodigues de courage
Et de protection,
Comme le veut ton haut lignage...

Tous les signes de ta lointaine
Générosité,
De ta native bonté,
De cela aussi qu'il te souviennne,

Ô Juan,
Et de l'Honneur !

.
.

Toi,
Devenu le misérable donneur
De sérénades,
Et jouant
Faux !

Toi,
Le faux
Doublon d'or,
Dans un décor
Comme il n'en faut
Qu'à toi !

Toi,
Le bretteur

Aux fougueuses estocades,
 Le tueur,
 Le marqueur
 De visages
 Sans défaut,
 À ton chiffre, en ruisselantes estafilades,
 Sur ton passage...

Toi,
 Le mime picaresque, aux œillades
 Fades...

.
 Tes yeux
 Merveilleux
 De dilection,
 En leur prime lumière;
 Tes yeux d'enfance
 Et de confiance
 En la lumière,
 Qu'il t'en souviene,
 Toi !
 Où sont-ils ?

Leur regard, du temps
 De Doña Sol,
 Où ton cœur à son âme accordait son vol,
 Ô Juan,
 Qu'il t'en
 Souviene,
 Toi !
 Où donc sont-ils ?

En quel démon fus-tu changé,
 Avec tes désirs, de tant
 De malaises chargés,
 Toi,
 Ô Juan ?

.
 Ô rage
 D'un tel esclavage,
 Loin de Doña Sol
 Qui t'eût sauvé,
 Toi ! Toi ! Toi !

.

Don Juan, ébranlé, et d'une voix qui le déchire

Qui m'eût sauvé ?...

.

Ô rage
De subir
Ce langage,
Et de sentir
Prouvée
La véracité,
L'invincibilité
De la réalité,
Et du symbole
Et du présage,
Au nom, seul immortel, de Doña Sol !

.

Et, contre tout cela,
De savoir funestes ces mains, ces bras,
Armés pour l'Amour et le Combat...

.

.

Et, dans l'enchaînement des causes
Moroses,
De trouver à mes mains, mes bras, mes regards, mes désirs
Ces chaînes
À n'en plus finir,
Ces chaînes, ces chaînes, ces chaînes...

.

.

IX

CONNIVENCES DES ÂMES

Doña Juana, accourant

Je me souviens
Et je reviens.
De nous seuls, Don Juan et Doña Juana, je me souviens.

.

Et de nous seuls ne cesse de renaître l'Instant
Où nos regards s'affrontent,
Sans honte,
Aux jardins de tous nos Orontes,
En tous nos Paradis Persans !

.

Don Juan, rêveur, mais bientôt repris par sa passion

Plaisirs que nous éprouvâmes,
Et connivences de nos Âmes...

Plaisirs que nous éprouvons,
Mais point ne réprouvons,
Ayant
Méprisé la Grâce,
Que nous bravons
À Sa Face...

Nos sangs
Révulsés, au cran
D'arrêt, puis repartant,
Recommençant
De frémir, à pleines
Veines,
Coup par coup,
Coup sur coup,
À nous briser,
À nous doublement
Briser,
En ce vivre
Et mourir et revivre,
Et survivre
À la seconde
Sans seconde
D'être unis
À l'Infini,
En ces mille morts
Sans remords !

Dieux,
Au-dessus même de Dieu,
Ô ma Déesse et souveraine Maîtresse,
Et promesse
Des Dieux
Sans remords...

Ton être aromatique
Fume en moi,
Tel un encens,
Onduleux
Ou droit,

Suivant le vent,
 Sur le bûcher où les Sacrifiants,
 Hiératiques,
 Processionnellement
 Offrent au Néant
 Le cœur ouvert.
 (Offert
 Et sitôt consumé :
 Physique
 Et mystique
 Fumée
 Sans remords.)

* * * * *

Doña Juana, interdite

Remords ! Remords ! Remords !...

Pourquoi, Juan,
 M'envahit-il ce sentiment
 De la mort
 De notre amour,
 Lorsque tu nommes ainsi le Remords ?...

Don Juan, avec une mélancolie venue du plus secret de lui-même

Nous persuaderons-nous jamais
 Que nous sommes sans remords ?

* * * * *

Doña Juana, qui pleure

Ô mon cruel amour,
 De cela, jamais !

* * * * *

Don Juan, brutal

Nos corps
 Sans cœur,
 Nos cœurs
 Arrachés de nos corps,
 Vidés de nous,
 Et qui s'éœurent.

* * * * *

Doña Juana, révoltée

Nos regards
 Qui n'ont plus pour nous
 D'égards...

* * * * *

Même nos mains
 Sur nos yeux
 Fous,
 Et nos poings
 Enfoncés au creux
 De nos orbites ne nous cacheraient plus rien
 De nous.

.

Don Juan

Pour l'Éternité
 Nous nous sommes mis à nu
 Et connus,
 Comme si nous eussions été
 Notre suprême bien,
 Sans possible remords.

.

Mais nier cette angoisse, c'est sentir la Vérité
 Rompre nos
 Os !

.

.

Tandis que, derrière
 Les soleils tombés, se révèlent nos pâles étoiles,
 Insensibles, — et que le vent de tes cheveux te baise,
 Nous baise,
 À travers
 Tes amères
 Larmes,
 Jusques aux moëllés...

.

Doña Juana, sont-ce bien là tes armes :
 L'amertume des larmes ?

.

Ah ! que le Fleuve s'écoule à la Mer,
 Que la Mer s'écroule sur Elle-Même,
 Que blêmes
 Nous bercent,
 Nous bercent et traversent
 Fleuves et Mers,
 Et Ciel,
 Et Terre,
 Et l'Univers
 Des Cieux et Terres et Mers,

Aux vagues de miel et fiel
 Où plongent les couchants
 Trébuchant
 En ces écroulements !

Aux rives de ces eaux
 Pointent les roseaux,
 Eux-mêmes rosis, fleuris, noircis
 De la rose sombre de notre Nuit,
 À perte d'Âmes,
 À perte de Nuit,
 À perte de la Vie
 En nos Âmes.

La Nuit
 Éteignant en nous la Vie,
 Étreignant notre surnaturelle Vie
 En flammes,
 Déjà morte
 À nos portes.

Doña Juana, désespérée

Nuit
 Désormais froide, vide et noire,
 Sans histoire,
 Aveugle sans mémoire.

Don Juan, comme à lui-même

Dernier Néant
 De Don Juan...

Doña Juana, aussi sourdement

Et, pour Doña Juana, dernière braise en ton dernier
 Brasier.

X

MISÉRICORDE DE LA GRÂCE

Le Témoin qui reparaît

Enfin la Nuit s'est tue.

.
Et, surpris
De ses propres ors,
Le Jour
Se redore,
En son pur et primitif décor,
Le limpide Jour.

La Nuit s'est tue,
Et le grand
Vent
Du large, remué,
Bouleversant
Les Nuées
Prie :

.

Le Vent

Ô Dieu, Notre Père Virginal,
Dieu suprême et final,
Toi, l'Éternel Jour
Que je prie
D'une prière prompte et matinale,
Peux-tu
Permettre ce Mal
D'entendre, de souffrir sans les tuer
Et damner,
Au plus noir
Carrefour
De leur Nuit,
Ces êtres perdus
Au milieu de leur cri
Maléfique,
Leur double cri :
Celui de leur orgasme et de leur désespoir ?

Le Témoin

Et la Voix provoquée alors répondit,
Scandant

Majestueusement
 La Parole
 Qui vole
 En l'Espace,
 À son terrible Face à Face
 Épique
 Avec le Monde, —
 Et pourtant
 Encore miséricordieux,
 Car c'est la Folie
 Unique
 De Dieu
 D'aimer
 Sa Créature,
 Elle dont c'est la Folie
 Inique
 De ne pas savoir L'aimer.

 Et Dieu donc dit,
 Face à Sa Créature :

Dieu

Ce n'est pas Moi
 (Et je suis Dieu
 Et c'est là Ma Parole !),
 Ce n'est pas Moi
 Qui les tue
 Et retue,
 Chaque fois
 Que l'Homme et la Femme font et refont le Mal,
 Depuis que ce Monde
 Que J'ai
 Pour Eux
 Créé
 Paradisiaque
 Est devenu, par Eux
 Et Satan, démoniaque,
 Immonde
 Et immolé, dans leur liberté
 De s'accomplir en le Bien ou le Mal.

 Mais Eux,
 Ils ont opté,
 Et tué
 Leur Amour,
 Au plus noir carrefour
 Où je ne suis pas.

Leurs pas,
 Ils les ont égarés au carrefour,
 Et fait d'Eux-Mêmes les mornes dieux
 De leur faux paradis.

Or, si loin que Ceux-ci
 Soient
 De Moi,
 Et détournés de Ma Loi,
 Je dis
 Que Mon Fils
 Et sa Divine Mère,
 Qui retiennent le Bras
 De Ma Colère,
 Ne leur ont pas
 Ôté
 La chance
 Du Rachat,
 Ni la dernière
 Lueur de l'Espérance.

Le sens
 De la Mort
 Et du Remords
 Est passage
 Qui derechef conduit
 Vers la Vie
 L'Âme obscure et repentie
 Qui expie.

C'est le rappel, la touche ardente de la Grâce,
 L'émanation de l'Esprit,
 Rayon sans prix
 De Ma Face

Que ces ingrats
 Ne regardent même pas.

.

XI

DIEU PARLE POUR QU'ON L'ENTENDE

Le Témoin

Cela
 La Voix
 Le répondit,
 Qui s'enfle et grandit,

Par delà
 L'Océan
 Et le désarroi
 De ta Nuit,
 Ô Juan,
 Frappé mais impénitent.
 Pauvre aigle désensoleillé
 Qui te rives à la terre,
 Et pauvre Juana désémerveillée
 Par l'opprobre de vos misères,
 L'un et l'autre crucifiés,
 Solidaires,
 Au plus bas
 De votre aire
 Déjà
 Coutumière.

.
 Or, dans la magnificence et l'écho du jour,
 Plus pressante se fit
 La Voix,
 Dieu parlant par son Fils,
 Notre Sauveur et Roi,
 Jésus-Christ :

.
Le Christ, à Don Juan et Doña Juana

Pauvres, pauvres malheureux
 Aux passions faillies
 D'un lugubre amour,
 N'en avez-vous pas assez
 D'un tel Enfer,
 Sitôt commencé ?

Quand donc ouvrirez-vous vos yeux
 À la Lumière
 Jaillie
 De la Croix
 De Mon Amour ?

Avant
 Que ne passe cette prochaine Nuit
 Ci,

Et que ne vous fauche comme roseaux le Vent
 De la Voix

Outragée, en Sa libre Colère,
Qui sera Justice et Feu sans fin, en le Jour
 Ou la Nuit,
 Et l'Endroit
 Choisis
De Mon Père.



Léon Gérin, un disciple canadien de Frédéric Le Play

ARTHUR SAINT-PIERRE, M.S.R.C.

NÉ à Québec le 17 mai 1863, mort à Montréal le 15 juin 1951, Léon Gérin fut notre premier sociologue, si l'on conserve à ce titre un sens tant soit peu rigoureux. Il reste encore à l'heure actuelle l'un des plus marquants.

En 1885, c'est-à-dire à l'âge de 22 ans, il se rend à Paris animé d'une grande curiosité intellectuelle, pour y étudier, il ne savait trop quoi. Il a raconté lui-même brièvement, au début d'une étude sur la sociologie¹, comment, presque par hasard, il s'était finalement orienté vers les études sociales.

Il avait commencé par l'étude des sciences naturelles et y avait pris beaucoup d'intérêt. Mais un beau jour, passant devant une salle publique, où l'on annonçait un cours par M. Demolins, il vint prendre place, d'un mouvement purement impulsif, parmi les auditeurs. Tout de suite, il fut gagné par le talent du maître et par l'objet de la nouvelle science. D'abord auditeur assidu, il devint bientôt disciple de Demolins et par lui de Frédéric Le Play, dont Demolins était l'un des plus brillants seconds.

L'Ecole de la Science Sociale reçut son adhésion enthousiaste. Il en fréquenta les chefs et fut admis à leurs réunions en marge des cours. Son orientation intellectuelle en fut bientôt et pour toujours fixée. Obligé de revenir à Québec peu de temps après, il resta en correspondance avec ses maîtres et continua tant bien que mal ses études sociales, au milieu des préoccupations d'une vie à gagner et d'un avenir à préparer.

De sa brève excursion dans les sciences naturelles, il avait conservé, nous dit-il, le goût du concret, de l'étude méthodique de phénomènes observables et vérifiables. Ce qui, plus que tout le reste, l'attachait à l'enseignement de l'Ecole de la Science Sociale, c'est le fait que ses nouveaux maîtres exprimaient le ferme dessein d'appliquer constamment à l'investigation des phénomènes sociaux les procédés rigoureux des sciences physiques et biologiques.

Il s'efforçait pour sa part d'utiliser exactement, sur le modèle des nomenclatures adoptées pour les sciences physiques, la méticuleuse classification des faits sociaux, élaborée par Henri de Tourville, l'un des plus brillants disciples de Le Play; classification à laquelle son auteur avait précisément donné ce nom de « nomenclature » qui lui est resté.

Comme à ses maîtres, et comme plus tard à Paul Bureau, la sociologie lui apparaissait une science d'approches difficiles, exigeant une longue préparation, de patientes, scrupuleuses et presque interminables recherches.

¹*Revue de la science sociale*, avril 1912.

A cause de cette conception qu'il avait des difficultés de la science sociale, à cause, certainement, des circonstances qui ne lui fournissaient pas l'occasion de systématiser suffisamment ses études, d'utiliser ses méthodes et d'extérioriser ses connaissances, il fut, autant que j'ai pu m'en rendre compte, près de six ans sans rien publier.

Je ne sais trop pour quelles raisons, les études sociales devinrent à la mode au Canada français, aux toutes premières années du XX^e siècle. Un cercle d'études, sur le modèle des Unions de la Paix Sociale, fut fondé à Ottawa, grâce à l'initiative d'Errol Bouchette; un autre à Montréal et un troisième à Québec. L'impulsion, à Montréal, était venue de M. L.-A. Chauvin, père de notre collègue à la Société Royale, M. Jean Chauvin, et à Québec, de M. l'abbé Stanislas Lortie. Je ne désespère pas de pouvoir rassembler, un jour, au moins les renseignements essentiels sur ce mouvement, à coup sûr très intéressant, même si la durée en fut brève et l'action circonscrite. Du moins, la curiosité était éveillée et c'est vers l'Ecole de la Science Sociale que nos aspirants sociologues se tournaient pour en recevoir la lumière.

Tout naturellement Léon Gérin, qui avait étudié à Paris sous ses maîtres, qui avait vécu jusqu'à un certain point dans leur intimité et s'était imprégné de leur enseignement, se trouva à jouer un rôle de premier plan dans ce modeste courant d'activité intellectuelle. Il fut dans une certaine mesure le professeur des nouveaux néophytes à qui il donna une série de leçons échelonnées sur une période d'environ deux ans.

La substance de ces leçons, leur caractère, leur orientation, sont nettement indiqués par Léon Gérin lui-même dans plusieurs mémoires qu'il présenta à la Société Royale, de 1905 à 1915.

Il devait les publier in extenso dans la *Revue de la science sociale*, ainsi qu'il l'annonçait lui-même dans une première section de son étude, que l'on trouve dans la livraison d'avril 1912, de ce périodique.

C'est un article un peu lourd, très long, imprimé en texte serré, où l'auteur entreprend de définir l'objet propre de la science sociale. Pour le différencier de l'objet propre des autres sciences, il nous fait une synthèse hiérarchisée de tout le domaine de la connaissance, commençant par la logique et les mathématiques qui sont à la base, pour finir par la science sociale qu'il place au sommet. Si la classification est valable, elle expliquerait peut-être pourquoi, vu la distance qui les sépare, on trouve souvent si peu de logique en science sociale !

Tout cela est systématiquement rangé dans un graphique en forme de cône tronqué et couché; la logique occupant avec les mathématiques la partie la plus étroite du cône, qui est à gauche, alors que toutes les autres sciences, il y en a une quarantaine, se placent dans un ordre irrégulier en allant vers la droite, c'est-à-dire vers l'ouverture large du cône. A cette extrémité, où l'espace ne manque pas, on trouve la théologie, l'économie sociale, l'économie politique et la politique rangées deux à deux aux côtés de la science sociale qui en occupe le centre.

Cette présentation, faut-il vous l'avouer, ne me paraît pas particulièrement heureuse et les longues explications qui l'accompagnent forment, à mon avis, une introduction de proportions exagérées à une définition de l'objet de la science sociale.

Sans compter qu'il me paraît d'une subtilité vraiment excessive de distinguer ainsi l'une de l'autre l'économie sociale et la science sociale.

L'article, nous promettait son auteur, devait être le premier d'une série de quatre. Le deuxième serait consacré à la méthode, le troisième à l'élaboration de la nomenclature, et le quatrième, à l'investigation des phénomènes sociaux et de leurs relations.

Autant que j'ai pu m'en assurer, les trois derniers n'ont jamais paru dans la *Revue de la science sociale*. Mais, en décembre de cette même année 1912, cette revue publiait, sous la signature d'un M. Decamp, une étude sur la méthode, c'est-à-dire exactement le même sujet que Léon Gérin devait traiter dans son deuxième article. Heureusement, Léon Gérin a exposé dans de brefs mémoires de la Société Royale, les vues qu'il se proposait d'élaborer longuement dans la *Revue de la science sociale*. Le premier de ces mémoires a été publié en mai 1905; il a pour titre : « La Vulgarisation de la science sociale ».

Malgré qu'il ne soit déjà plus jeune à ce moment-là, puisqu'il dépasse la quarantaine, il parle de sa chère science sociale avec l'ardeur, l'enthousiasme et l'intransigeance de la prime jeunesse. Il déplore amèrement l'indifférence de ses contemporains pour la sociologie et — on est méthodique ou on ne l'est pas ! — il fait une classification peu flatteuse de ceux qui n'étudient pas les questions sociales : les inintelligents, les ignorants, les insouciantes, les imprévoyants et ceux qui se laissent trop absorber par leurs occupations quotidiennes pour s'intéresser à autre chose (p. 69).

Il définit ensuite en quelques mots l'objet de la science sociale, « science des groupements humains », nous dit-il. Puis il caractérise sommairement les diverses écoles de science sociale, pour conclure tout de suite à l'écrasante supériorité de celle de Le Play, qui a pris pour point de départ de ses laborieuses recherches, la famille.

Il nous explique qu'il y a diverses sortes de familles, que l'on peut grouper, à la suite de Le Play et de ses disciples, en quatre grandes classes : la famille patriarcale ou communautaire; la famille quasi-patriarcale, la famille particulariste et la famille instable (p. 74). A ce point, on est porté à se demander ce qu'il fait de la fameuse *famille souche*, l'une des trouvailles de l'Ecole de la Science Sociale, dont il devait s'occuper assez longuement dans ses monographies, si intéressantes, de certains familles types canadiennes-françaises.

Gérin nous apprend ensuite que la forme de la famille est rigoureusement conditionnée par trois éléments principaux : le lieu, le travail et la propriété. On a assez vivement critiqué — M. Paul Bureau notamment² —

²Introduction à la méthode sociologique (Paris : Bloud & Gay, 1953), pp. 115 et seq.

l'influence exagérée attribuée par l'Ecole de Le Play à ces trois éléments. Il suffit en effet pour se rendre compte de tout ce que la théorie a d'arbitraire, de se rappeler que le lieu et l'entourage sont constamment modifiés, et même transformés de fond en comble par l'effort énergétique des groupements humains.

D'après la théorie, par exemple, la constitution des familles de sauvages en Amérique, et celle de la tribu qui s'était formée autour, étaient la conséquence fatale de l'immense nature américaine au milieu de laquelle elles vivaient. Si l'on voulait dire tout simplement par là que sans les prairies il n'y aurait pas eu de bisons, et sans les bisons, pas de chasseur de bisons, on affirmerait une simple lapalissade. Mais la théorie va évidemment plus avant.

C'étaient les bois, les lacs, les rivières qui avaient fait des sauvages d'Amérique ces tribus nomades vivant de chasse et de pêche et sans cesse en guerre entre elles, parce que ce genre d'existence provoque fatalement des conflits pour la possession des territoires giboyeux et des eaux poissonneuses. Comme si l'Amérique n'avait jamais connu de tribus sédentaires; comme si, surtout, la guerre n'était pas un phénomène universel et comme si les hommes ne se battaient jamais pour autre chose que des raisons économiques !

Et puis, dans ce même milieu de forêts immenses, de lacs innombrables et de rivières sans fin, les blancs sont venus et au lieu d'en subir fatalement l'influence, ils l'ont transformé à leur fantaisie et aménagé suivant leurs besoins.

Gérin fait un commentaire assez long et dans l'ensemble, très favorable de la fameuse et interminable nomenclature de Tourville. Il reconnaît cependant que, si profondément qu'elle subisse l'empreinte du milieu où elle est forcée de vivre, la famille ne manque pas à son tour de réagir sur lui et sur les autres groupements qui s'ajoutent ou se superposent à elle.

Dans le même mémoire que j'analyse en ce moment, il s'attache à démontrer la nécessité des études sociales et que la science sociale se prête bien à la vulgarisation, ce qui est bien un peu et même beaucoup en contradiction avec ce qu'il enseigne ailleurs sur la complexité, l'ampleur et les difficultés de cette même science. En conclusion, il préconise la création de petits cercles d'études, et nous avons peut-être là le germe du groupement d'études sociales qu'Errol Bouchette devait fonder à peu près au même moment, parmi les employés civils. Son mot de la fin révèle bien la profondeur de sa foi : « Vulgarisons la science sociale, et la science sociale nous sauvera. »

Parmi les recommandations faites par Gérin, au sujet des cercles d'études sociales dont il préconisait la fondation, il peut être utile de relever celles-ci : le cercle ne doit pas compter plus de dix membres. Il doit avoir des réunions régulières et fréquentes. Ses membres doivent s'abonner à la *Revue de la science sociale* et en méditer les enseignements. Commencant par l'étude de la science théorique et de la méthode de Le Play, ils doivent

s'orienter le plus tôt possible vers la recherche, vers l'étude de leur milieu, en suivant rigoureusement la méthode d'observation enseignée par les maîtres. Les études et les recherches ne doivent pas rester purement théoriques, il faut les orienter vers l'action. Les disciples de Le Play doivent être, au Canada, des réformateurs. Les cercles isolés doivent se fédérer le plus tôt possible.

Le projet n'eut pas de suite, et les deux ou trois cercles fondés à cette époque, ainsi que je l'ai signalé, ne tardèrent pas à disparaître. Mais déjà l'A.C.J.C. qui venait de naître, avait fait sienne la formule et lui dut vingt-cinq années d'une existence active et féconde.

En 1909, Léon Gérin reprend et développe le sujet de la méthode en science sociale, sujet qu'il n'avait pu qu'effleurer dans son mémoire de 1905. Son travail est un consciencieux commentaire de la *Nomenclature* de Tourville, à laquelle il prodigue les témoignages de la plus respectueuse admiration. Avec toutes sortes de précautions oratoires cependant, il se permet de proposer certaines modifications à ce document vénérable, pour le simplifier dit-il, et pour rendre l'étude de la science sociale plus facile au commun des mortels. Cette proposition, il devait la reprendre dans la première tranche de la longue étude, publiée dans la *Revue de la science sociale*, en avril 1912, comme nous l'avons déjà vu.

Et peut-être avons-nous ici la raison véritable pourquoi la suite de son étude n'a jamais paru dans ce périodique. Il semble raisonnable de supposer que l'audacieux projet, mis de l'avant par le modeste disciple canadien, d'améliorer la sainte Nomenclature, ait choqué et scandalisé les Directeurs de la *Revue*, gardiens de son orthodoxie.

Quoi qu'il en soit du bien-fondé de cette supposition, notons que Gérin pousse encore plus loin ses téméraires propositions. Il exprime l'avis qu'il serait bon d'ajouter une base philosophique à la *Nomenclature*, qui est, en vérité, un document assez matérialiste, ainsi que Durkheim lui-même n'avait pas manqué de le souligner. Il recommande ensuite, comme étant plus logique, la division de la nomenclature par phénomènes de même nature, les phénomènes de groupement : famille, association, communes, provinces, état. D'après lui le fait d'avoir introduit des divisions basées sur les notions de lieu, de travail, de propriété, complice inutilement les choses.

Les nouvelles divisions qu'il propose sont au nombre de treize, qui toutes sont divisées uniformément en six parties; ce qui me paraît bien révéler un esprit de système poussé à l'excès. En tout et partout, divisions et subdivisions s'élevaient à quatre-vingt-onze alors que la *Nomenclature* en contient deux cents cinquante. C'était évidemment une simplification d'importance. Mais tout cela n'était pas très clair, ni peut-être aussi rigoureusement enchaîné que les multiples sections de la *Nomenclature*. Et c'est peut-être aussi pourquoi, toute question de mécontentement et d'orthodoxie mise à part, seule la première partie de son travail a été accueillie en France.

L'une des meilleures études de Léon Gérin, à mon avis, est celle qui a

été publiée dans un autre rapport annuel de la Société Royale, année 1914 sous le titre : « Sociologie, le mot et la chose ». Gérin fait, dans ce travail, l'histoire de la sociologie, depuis la création du mot par Auguste Comte en 1838. Dans l'esprit du fondateur du positivisme, le nom sociologie devait s'appliquer uniquement à sa conception positiviste de la science sociale. C'est abusivement, croit Léon Gérin, que le sens du mot a été étendu. Pour lui, la sociologie n'est qu'une branche ou subdivision de la science sociale. C'est cette dernière expression seulement qui devrait être employée pour désigner l'ensemble des sciences qui traitent des sociétés humaines.

Gérin a publié nombre d'autres études dispersées. Il en a recueilli plusieurs en volumes. L'essentiel de son œuvre est contenu dans deux ouvrages sur lesquels nous allons jeter un rapide coup d'œil.

Le premier a pour titre : *Le Type économique et social des Canadiens*, et comme sous-titre : *Milieux agricoles de traditions françaises*³. Il renferme cinq études consacrées, suivant la définition même de l'auteur, à « des exemplaires bien caractérisés de la famille et de la paroisse rurales canadiennes-françaises ». Ces monographies de familles agricoles canadiennes-françaises renferment probablement les meilleures, les plus vivantes pages de Gérin. Il ne peut être question de les résumer toutes, mais je vais m'arrêter un peu à la première, afin de permettre à ceux qui n'auraient pas lu l'ouvrage de se faire une idée, incomplète sans doute, mais une idée tout de même de la manière de l'auteur et du genre de renseignements que son petit livre nous offre. Si je pouvais faire naître chez ceux qui ne le connaissent pas encore le désir de lire Léon Gérin, ce serait tout profit pour eux.

Cette monographie a pour titre : « Le Paysan⁴ du Bas-Saint-Laurent, colonisateur du Saguenay. » Il s'agit d'une famille de St-Irénée, comté de Charlevoix.

Ce qu'il y a de particulièrement intéressant dans ce travail c'est qu'il devait être, dans l'esprit de son auteur, la continuation et le contrôle d'une enquête monographique faite en 1862 par le Consul de France à Québec, M. Gauldrée Boilleau, qui avait voulu employer dans l'étude de cette rustique paroisse canadienne-française, les méthodes de recherche et d'observation de l'Ecole de la Science Social, dont il était un fervent disciple.

La monographie de Gauldrée Boilleau avait été publiée dans le cinquième volume de la série *Ouvriers des Deux-Mondes* et Léon Gérin, qui naturellement la connaissait, voulait, après plus de soixante ans, se rendre compte de ce qu'était devenue la famille Gauthier, objet des études du sociologue français.

Celui-ci avait cru trouver au foyer des Gauthier la fameuse *famille souche* chère à l'Ecole de Le Play, qui enracinée sur un coin du sol natal

³Paru aux Editions de l'Action Canadienne-Française en 1937, et aux Editions Fides en 1948.

⁴Ce qui fera bondir notre collègue M. Geo. Bouchard, qui soutient que les gens de la campagne chez nous, ne sont pas des « paysans », mais des « habitants ».

s'y maintient de génération en génération, fournissant des rameaux pour des plantations plus ou moins voisines ou lointaines, mais restant toujours le centre de ralliement, l'abri où les membres dispersés de la famille sont heureux de se rencontrer.

En 1862 la famille d'Isidore Gauthier se composait du père, de la mère et de sept enfants. Tous, sauf l'aîné marié et établi à son compte, travaillaient en commun pour le bien de tous. Le sociologue français avait remarqué que, dans nos campagnes, le bien ancestral est rarement divisé, grâce à la liberté testamentaire, contrairement à ce qui se passe en France, où cette liberté a été abolie. Ce bien, qu'on ne divise pas, passe rarement au fils aîné. La raison en est que, lorsque les premiers nés de la famille sont prêts à s'établir les parents sont encore trop jeunes, trop vigoureux, pour leur céder la place. On les aide à s'établir ou on les fait instruire, mais le père continue à exploiter lui-même son domaine. Quand enfin arrive pour les parents l'âge de se retirer l'un des enfants, parfois le plus jeune, reçoit le bien en héritage, à charge pour lui de faire vivre ses vieux parents et de dédommager, dans une certaine mesure au moins, ses frères et sœurs de n'être pas comme lui héritiers. Quand l'héritage est important, les choses se passent un peu différemment, particulièrement s'il y a plus d'une terre. Le partage peut se faire alors entre deux ou plusieurs enfants. Mais le cas général est bien celui signalé par le Consul français, qui trouve cette solution bien supérieure au partage forcé imposé par la loi française.

Qu'était devenue la famille Gauthier lorsque Léon Gérin se rendit à son tour à Saint-Irénée, en 1920, pour l'étudier ? Elle n'existait plus, du moins sur place. Elle avait vendu son bien et s'était établie sur d'autres terres, dans les régions de colonisation alors nouvelles du Saguenay où, du reste, elle avait prospéré. D'où Léon Gérin conclut : « Ainsi s'écroulait piteusement la glorieuse vision un instant aperçue d'une famille souche canadienne sur le modèle classique de Le Play. » (p. 19)

Conclusion prématurée ou du moins exagérée, à mon avis, si l'on ne s'accroche pas à une interprétation trop rigide des formules. La famille souche d'Isidore Gauthier ne s'était pas dispersée aux quatre vents; encore moins était-elle éteinte. Elle s'était tout simplement transplantée, et avec le plus grand succès, dans une région nouvelle de peuplement, où les chances d'établir convenablement ses nombreux enfants dans le voisinage étaient beaucoup plus grandes que si elle fût restée à Saint-Irénée.

Mais il est bien certain qu'au sens idéal, exclusif, le type de famille souche, qui avait séduit Le Play, ne peut se rencontrer qu'à l'état d'exceptions. La vie est trop changeante pour que, sans interruption durant des siècles, sur une même terre, puissent se rencontrer, tant soit peu fréquemment, les descendants d'un même ancêtre. Sans doute on en peut citer des exemples. A l'occasion du troisième centenaire de la ville de Québec, on a distribué des médailles, si ma mémoire est fidèle, aux chefs de famille occupant encore la terre défrichée deux cents ans plus tôt par l'ancêtre.

Mais on n'en avait pas trouvé beaucoup (exactement 273), sans doute parce que notre pays est encore jeune, mais surtout à cause de l'essentielle instabilité des affaires humaines.

La famille Isidore Gauthier étant partie, Léon Gérin, obligé d'abandonner son premier projet, n'en étudia pas moins la paroisse de St-Irénée et les conditions d'existence d'une autre famille Gauthier, parente de la première et dont le chef s'appelait d'un nom que je n'avais jamais encore rencontré et que je n'ai pas revu depuis : Médérile. Et devant le spectacle qui se déroule à ses yeux Gérin s'écrie : « Nous nageons ici en pleine tradition communautaire. » (p. 22) Le disciple de Le Play avait retrouvé à la fois son enthousiasme et son vocabulaire.

Il y aurait une foule de détails à noter ici, mais je n'en puis souligner que deux ou trois.

La mère de Médérile Gauthier vivait encore et habitait avec lui.

C'était une Harvey; elle était de naissance écossaise et Gérin nous explique comment elle était devenue la mère de toute cette lignée de Gauthier. Les Highlanders, nous dit-il, formaient un contingent important de l'armée de Wolfe. Après la conquête, ils s'établirent en nombre dans les seigneuries concédées, dans le bas du fleuve, à leurs officiers les Nairn, les Fraser, etc. Communautaires autant et plus que les Canadiens-français, ils sympathisèrent avec eux, s'unirent à des Canadiennes-françaises et ne tardèrent pas à se fondre dans le milieu rural québécois.

Gérin nous parle de grande et de petite culture, de production spontanée et d'industrie domestique. Il nous révèle, en passant, les incursions généralement malheureuses faites par certains habitants de St-Irénée dans les mines et les transports. A travers des réflexions justes, des observations ingénieuses et peut-être même profondes, il jette certains jugements que, pour ma part, je ne serais pas prêt à accepter sans discussion. Il semble alors que ce sont les réminiscences, les souvenirs trop précis des enseignements de l'Ecole de la Paix Sociale qui encombrant sa mémoire et faussent, à mon avis, ses perspectives.

Le reproche qu'il fait à la famille agricole de ne pas former une élite de chefs d'entreprise pour les arts usuels, me paraît porter à faux. Ce n'est pas là le rôle d'un milieu agricole. Qu'il fournisse les sujets, d'accord, mais la formation de ces derniers incombe à d'autres qu'aux agriculteurs eux-mêmes.

Quand il affirme que la race se décapite à chaque génération, même en considérant soigneusement le contexte, on n'arrive pas à comprendre ce qu'il veut dire.

Les regrets qu'il exprime de ne pas trouver à Saint-Irénée « une classe patronale, mais seulement des familles toutes égales, non hiérarchisées » ne sont que les échos des théories de l'Ecole de la Science Sociale dont, même en France, le comte de Mun s'était efforcé sans succès, de faire l'application dans ses cercles catholiques d'ouvriers. Le paternalisme s'est révélé une solution chimérique du problème social en Europe, et nous n'avons

pas à regretter son absence chez nous, surtout, je crois, dans nos campagnes où l'absence de classes distinctes et hiérarchisées me paraît être une force, bien loin d'être une faiblesse.

Certaines autres pages de Léon Gérin, où transparait à l'extrême l'influence de ses maîtres, me paraissent encore discutables et parfois contradictoires. Nous ne pouvons nous y arrêter. Mais il est un passage que je ne puis m'empêcher de relever, tant il me paraît extraordinaire :

Fait curieux, caractéristique, écrit Gérin, l'habitant qui, de date très ancienne, a su trouver dans son groupement familial l'armature d'une vie économique simple mais intégrale à son point de vue du moins, a reçu de l'extérieur et pour ainsi dire toutes faites ses institutions religieuses, qu'il tient de l'église catholique, et ses institutions politiques, empruntées à l'Angleterre et à un moindre degré aux Etats-Unis (p. 51).

Je vous avoue que ces lignes m'ont un peu étonné. Est-ce que par hasard Léon Gérin aurait voulu que — à l'instar de cette grande dame de la cour de Louis XIV, si doctement commentée par Brunetière — nos habitants se « fissent chacun son petit religion à part soi » ? Il est incontestable que nos habitants reçoivent leur religion et leurs institutions religieuses toutes faites, comme le font les catholiques de tous les pays, à tous les degrés de la vie sociale. Ils ne seraient pas des catholiques s'ils agissaient autrement. Et je suis bien sûr que tel devait bien être au fond la pensée de Gérin.

Il en est de même de nos institutions politiques. Elles ont été élaborées péniblement par nos chefs, au cours d'un siècle de lutte contre une majorité de la section anglaise de la population qui cherchait à nous en imposer d'autres. Elles s'incarnent dans la constitution, et poursuivent une lente évolution sous l'influence des lois que votent nos législateurs. Nos habitants les reçoivent et les subissent, comme nous le faisons nous-même. Je me demande comment, à moins de se maintenir en état constant de révolution, ils pourraient faire autrement. Je suis convaincu qu'ici les mots ont trahi la pensée de Léon Gérin et lui ont fait exprimer des idées qui n'étaient pas du tout les siennes.

En somme il me paraît que Léon Gérin a eu le tort de suivre de trop près les enseignements de ses anciens maîtres. Ce qu'il y a de bon, d'excellent même, dans sa monographie est sans doute de lui; le moins bon, le plus discutable porte la trace d'influences étrangères, d'idées et de théories qui pouvaient valoir ailleurs, et encore, mais qui s'adaptaient mal à notre situation.

Pressé par le temps, je passe sans plus tarder au plus volumineux, au plus important à tous points de vue des ouvrages de Léon Gérin : *Aux sources de notre histoire*.⁵ Dans ce volume il s'est efforcé de montrer les conditions économiques et sociales qui existaient dans l'ancienne, aussi bien que dans la nouvelle France, et qui expliquent pourquoi le peuplement de notre pays sous la domination française s'est fait si lentement; les raisons de la grande pauvreté et de l'extrême faiblesse de la Nouvelle-France, en regard de la

⁵Publié aux Editions Fides, sous le patronage de l'Institut de Sociologie, en 1946.

prospérité de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, et comment nous nous sommes engagés dans un conflit ruineux — d'où nous devons fatalement sortir écrasés — avec des colonies dont la population était de 40 à 50 fois plus nombreuse que la nôtre.

Ce livre est la coordination et le développement d'études anciennes. Le résumer est impossible dans les quelques instants que nous pouvons lui consacrer. Le meilleur conseil que je puisse donner c'est de le lire. Il jette sur beaucoup de points de notre histoire, que les manuels expliquent insuffisamment ou pas du tout, de grandes clartés. Les causes de l'insuccès flagrant de la colonisation de la Nouvelle-France par les grandes compagnies, par le roi lui-même et par les seigneurs, y apparaissent dans un jour cru. Les méfaits à longue portée de la traite des fourrures, l'action néfaste de ce que Gérin appelle « la gentilhommerie fonctionnariste » ; l'excès de centralisation, le refus de presque toute initiative et liberté à la population stable du pays, ces causes, et bien d'autres encore (dérivant pourtant, à peu près toutes, de celles-là) agissaient séparément ou collectivement pour conduire le pays à la ruine.

La narration historique est assez brève. Elle nous rappelle les voyages de Cartier, la lamentable aventure de Roberval, etc., mais n'ajoute rien ou guère à ce que nos historiens nous avaient déjà appris. Dès l'origine, la colonie se développe avec une extrême lenteur par la faute des marchands qui ne voulaient aider ni à la colonisation, ni à l'évangélisation des sauvages, parce que cela coûtait trop cher et pouvait nuire au commerce.

La colonisation par l'établissement de seigneuries a aussi échoué pendant longtemps — sauf le cas isolé du médecin Giffard — parce que les seigneurs ne connaissaient rien à la culture et comptaient pour vivre sur des postes de fonctionnaires et sur la traite des fourrures. Au surplus, le mal remontait plus haut.

Au début — durant la première moitié du XVII^e siècle — la vie locale était désorganisée en France même. Les seigneurs et les nobles les plus riches vivaient à la cour. Les plus pauvres végétaient sur leurs terres et ne pouvaient pas songer à entreprendre une aventure d'établissement agricole au nouveau monde.

Procédant par la méthode monographique, Léon Gérin décrit assez longuement ensuite une tentative de colonisation par fondation pieuse, celle de l'établissement de Montréal par la Société Notre-Dame, pour en arriver à conclure que : « même pieuses ou charitables, parce que fondées et soutenues par une classe dirigeante instable, ces tentatives de colonisations finissent toujours par réclamer la protection de l'Etat » (p. 188). Et alors Léon Gérin pose la question :

Pourquoi les grandes compagnies françaises : celle des Cent Associés fondée par Richelieu, celle des Indes Occidentales fondée par Louis XIV, ont-elles échoué, alors que les grandes compagnies anglaises et hollandaises, moins favorisées par l'Etat, ont prospéré ?

Et il nous donne lui-même la réponse :

C'est, nous dit-il, parce que ces dernières étaient des créations spontanées de leurs membres, qui avaient le goût et le sens du commerce, l'attrait du risque en vue du profit, l'audace des grandes entreprises, tandis que les compagnies françaises étaient constituées d'en haut, composées de membres qui, pour une partie du moins y étaient entrés sans enthousiasme et même malgré eux; qui craignaient les aventures et cherchaient à s'approprier les largesses de l'Etat avec un minimum d'effort et sans remplir les obligations correspondantes.

Ceci entraînait l'incapacité et la prodigalité des administrateurs, la multiplication des emplois payés, la prédominance de l'esprit bureaucratique (p. 202). Pendant quelques années la colonisation reçut de Louis XIV lui-même une impulsion vigoureuse, qui ne produisait pas, cependant, des résultats correspondants aux efforts et aux dépenses, à cause surtout du manque presque total de coopération de la part des seigneurs, qui sollicitaient et recevaient de vastes concessions sans se mettre en peine de les exploiter convenablement.

Et Gérin en tire cette conclusion que l'intervention du pouvoir central doit rester impuissante, quand la participation des forces de la vie privée reste insuffisante (p. 211).

Pendant ce temps les nobles et les seigneurs au Canada vivaient dans la gêne, souvent plus mal que leurs censitaires, qui ne leur donnaient à peu près rien. Les plus heureux se rattrapaient sur le fonctionnairisme, mais même cette ressource restait très limitée, car les plus hauts postes étaient réservés à des fonctionnaires venus de France.

Pour améliorer la situation on se tourna vers la traite des fourrures. Des brèches furent faites au monopole de la Compagnie des Indes, qui fut bientôt ruinée par le commerce librement ouvert aux habitants de la colonie, soutenus par l'Intendant Talon.

Gérin nous montre alors le commerce des fourrures s'organisant avec le concours et sous la direction de l'Etat, un peu comme dans nos sociétés modernes où le commerce international profite ou souffre de l'ingérence des gouvernements. Et Gérin nous indique quelques-unes des formes les plus importantes de l'intervention de l'Etat : expéditions militaires pour assurer la liberté des communications, relations politiques et traités de paix avec les tribus indiennes, distributions de cadeaux, etc.

Toute la colonie entra bientôt dans le puissant mouvement créé par ces circonstances favorables et la traite devint la grande affaire de tout le monde. Elle fit même surgir une nouvelle classe sociale, celle des coureurs de bois. Tout ne se passait pas dans l'harmonie la plus parfaite, bien au contraire; des factions se formèrent, qui se faisaient la guerre. Et il fallait aussi compter avec la concurrence des colonies anglaises qui avaient, semble-t-il, plus que nos gens le sens du négoce. Et ceci amène Léon Gérin à écrire — sur l'autorité nous dit-il de La Hontan — que les Français payaient leurs fourrures aux sauvages 160% meilleur marché que les

Anglais (p. 225). C'est un exemple de distraction comme j'en ai assez souvent rencontré chez des économistes et sociologues amateurs. Mais s'il est déjà amusant de voir un adulte, qui est supposé savoir compter, perdre de vue ce fait élémentaire que le pourcentage peut augmenter indéfiniment, mais qu'un chiffre cesse d'exister dès lors qu'il a diminué de cent pour cent, une pareille distraction dans une page d'un sociologue de la valeur de Léon Gérin étonne. Même s'il est démontré que La Hontan s'en est rendu coupable avant lui, on voudrait qu'il eut aperçu l'énormité de cette affirmation statistique et qu'il s'en fut dissocié.

D'après Léon Gérin, la guerre contre les Iroquois a été volontairement traînée en longueur par l'armée et les chefs du pays parce que les seigneurs et leurs enfants y trouvaient un emploi profitable et des chances d'avancement, alors que les dégâts matériels étaient surtout supportés par les habitants, qui voulaient la paix, mais n'avaient aucun moyen de l'imposer. L'accusation est très grave et je n'ai aucune autorité pour tenter de la réfuter. Léon Gérin la développe et l'amplifie. Il attribue aux Français une guerre d'agression contre les Anglais, pour conserver le commerce des fourrures. Les Américains cherchaient la paix et offraient, dès 1648, une alliance perpétuelle entre les deux colonies, indépendamment de toute rupture qui pourrait surgir entre les deux couronnes (p. 239). Et il ajoute : « Un fait remarquable c'est que le parti de la guerre ne s'organisa au sein des colonies anglaises, qu'à l'arrivée des fonctionnaires anglais. » (p. 242)

Les guerres franco-américaines, affirme encore Gérin, ont été causées par les marchands et les fonctionnaires français et anglais. Les habitants des deux pays n'en voulaient pas. La question n'est pas de ma compétence, mais de prime abord, il me paraît que Gérin oublie trop, ou du moins sous-estime, un fait fondamental : la dépendance des colonies à l'égard de leur métropole respective. Au profane que je suis en ces matières, il paraît évident que les germes des guerres d'Amérique devaient se trouver tout d'abord en Europe. Les volontés et les intérêts qui, de ce côté-ci de l'Atlantique, les favorisaient pour en tirer profit, auraient été, me semble-t-il, impuissants à les imposer.

Gérin fait une vivante comparaison entre les éléments dirigeants des colonies anglaises et les nôtres et cette comparaison est nettement à l'avantage des Américains. Ceux-ci, par leur seule initiative, avaient constitué entre la mer et les Alléghanys de riches et nombreux groupements de population, alors qu'en Nouvelle-France la population n'augmentait guère et restait pauvre. Ils — les Américains — étaient 1.200.000 et peut-être 1.500.000 et nous n'étions que 80.000. C'était une pure stupidité que d'attaquer cette population et de la forcer à prendre les armes pour sa défense, alors qu'elle ne demandait pas mieux que de laisser les armées anglaises seules aux prises avec les armes du roi de France (p. 247).

En dépit de toutes ces misères, un solide noyau s'était constitué en Nouvelle-France mais avec une extrême lenteur. Le secret de la survivance

française, nous dit Gérin, se trouve là, dans quelques milliers de vrais paysans français venus des régions peut-être les plus dures à cultiver de France; il se trouve dans leur courage, leur vigueur, leur frugalité, leur honnêteté et leur foi; il se trouve surtout dans la transplantation chez nous de la famille quasi-communautaire où l'on travaille en commun, où tous les revenus sont mis en commun, où l'on produit pour les besoins essentiels de la famille, fort peu pour le marché et pour l'échange. (Voir tout le chapitre xvi, pp. 255 et suivantes.)

*

* *

J'ignore ce que notre sociologue a rapporté de vraiment personnel, d'original, dans son excursion *Aux sources de notre histoire*. Je serais bien en peine de démêler ce qu'il a dit de vraiment nouveau d'avec ce que ses devanciers avaient dit avant lui. C'est là besogne d'érudit, pour laquelle je n'ai ni préparation, ni goût. Mais ce qui me paraît indiscutable c'est que, pour avoir envisagé sous l'angle sociologique, pour avoir analysé avec la célèbre méthode les phénomènes — même supposés tous connus — de nos origines, il les a éclairés d'une lumière différente; il en a mis en relief certains aspects importants, oubliés peut-être ou du moins sous-estimés. Il a fait avec conscience et talent, besogne utile. Son dernier livre, l'ensemble de son œuvre, le place au premier rang de nos auteurs canadiens; en tête des plus notables artisans de notre toute modeste littérature sociale canadienne-française.

NOTE

Il existait, depuis plusieurs années déjà, une bibliographie très soignée de l'œuvre de Léon Gérin, par Sœur Bellavance, des religieuses du Bon Conseil. Le R. P. Hervé Carrier, S. J., a repris et complété ce travail dans l'excellente thèse de maîtrise qu'il a présentée à la Faculté des Sciences Sociales de la Catholic University of America, en juin 1952, sur la « Méthode de recherche de Léon Gérin ».

J'ai pu consulter les manuscrits de ces deux travaux grâce à la bienveillance des auteurs et à la gracieuse permission que m'ont accordée l'Ecole des Bibliothécaires de l'Université de Montréal, pour la bibliographie de S. Bellavance, et les autorités de la Catholic University of America, pour la thèse du P. Carrier. A tous je réitère ici mes très vifs remerciements.

L'étude du P. Carrier a de grands mérites. Il est grandement à désirer qu'elle soit publiée le plus tôt possible pour qu'elle devienne accessible aux chercheurs à qui elle est appelée à rendre de précieux services.

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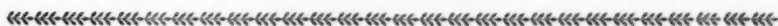
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SECTION TWO



PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The Tragic Figure of the Wyf of Bath

F. M. SALTER, F.R.S.C.

IT would be proper, perhaps, in a presidential address, to assault your ears with high-astounding terms and thoughts that wander through eternity; but for any such disquisition you have elected the wrong Belial to the chair. The honour itself I humbly and gratefully acknowledge, at the same time that I note that a temporary lapse of judgment is possible even to Fellows of the Royal Society.

Another honour this year has exhausted me and my time. Otherwise, I should like to have given you a review of Canadian scholarship in the Humanities. I think you would have been astonished at the range and quality of the contributions Canadians have made and are making in this field. And, having made this survey, I should have gone on to say that our isolation from large libraries and manuscript collections is no barrier to the research mind. It is not merely that many helps are now available, such as microfilm and inter-library loan, but that the genuinely inquiring mind cannot fail to find, somehow, questions that it can answer. I should have continued, emphasizing of course the part of the field which I know best, that the literary student has access, even in the poorest centres, to the basic texts of English Literature—and we could develop in Canada, if nothing else, the art of challenging and provocative criticism. Such a development is greatly to be wished, for Canada will never have a really great literature of her own until she has begotten some great critics; but we have already made in research, in criticism, and in literature impressive beginnings.

It was partly with the idea in mind of showing what can be done without apparatus, without a rich library, and with little leisure that I decided to present to you a piece of literary criticism pure and simple. It will be a poor example of the great point I wished to make which, in a word, is this: research can be done anywhere, provided there is an inquiring mind to do it.

*

Chaucer's Wyf of Bath has been universally admired as one of the great comic creations of the world, but there are a few persons who have made some reservations. Lounsbury long ago, for example, detected an "under-

tone of melancholy" in her Prologue.¹ This melancholy he derives from such remarks of hers as, "Alas! alas! that ever love was synne!"; but when I speak of the Wyf as tragic, I am not looking at any such surface play of light and shadow.

R. K. Root in 1906 suggested that Chaucer "saw that with all her apparent gayety, she was not happy."² Root seems to be at pains to rationalize Lounsbury's surmise. He says, "We must recognize [in her Tale], then, that beside the coarseness and the shrewd practicality of this woman, there runs a vein of really delicate imagination, a fact which will explain to us the undertone of melancholy [in her Prologue] which is perceptible in her coarsest talk."³ But Kemp Malone would deny that her Tale expresses anyone but Chaucer—with a few tags added to fit the story to the Wyf.⁴ If Malone is right, the "delicate imagination" which is one half of the Wyf's complex as Root sees it, must disappear. About all we can gain, then, from Lounsbury and Root is that they have some uneasiness about the ordinary interpretation of the Wyf as a comic figure; they feel, but do not satisfactorily explain, an "undertone of melancholy" in her garrulous Prologue.

Nevill Coghill briefly echoes these scholars, but with no attempt at explanation. He says that the Wyf is "very feminine, and very comic, and very tragic."⁵ That is all: take it or leave it! But, as he has previously said that "There are no tormented souls in Chaucer," his thinking would seem self-contradictory.

A Canadian scholar, Charles W. Dunn, remarks that "as is often the case in successful comic characterizations, the comicality of the Wife of Bath borders upon the tragic." This tragic border, he feels, is due to the recent death of "her fifth husband, whom she had loved."⁶ This statement comes nearer the truth; it is not the whole truth, but an index finger pointing in the right direction.

I have not found any other comments on the melancholy undertone or upon the possibility that the Wyf of Bath was to Chaucer, and should be to us, a tragic figure. Indeed, the typical response of readers is that of Marchette Chute: "Chaucer has given the Wife of Bath his own irrepressible delight in living, and her whole discourse is one whoop of satisfaction over the fun she has had."⁷ I enter a caveat against both parts of this

¹T. R. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer* (London, 1892), II, 527: "There is in it [the Wyf of Bath's Tale] reckless gayety; there is humor of the highest kind; there is profound knowledge of human nature; and, what evinces higher power still, there is an undertone of melancholy which suggests far more than it says, and is, indeed, capable of crowding the burden of life's perpetually recurring tragedy into the short and simple comment, 'Alas! Alas! that ever love was sin!'"

²*The Poetry of Chaucer* (Boston & New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1906), p. 236. So also the revised edition (New York: Peter Smith, 1950), p. 236.

³*Ibid.*, p. 239. These exact words do not appear in the revised edition, but Root's general conception of the character has not changed.

⁴*Chapters on Chaucer* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1951), pp. 210 ff.

⁵*The Poet Chaucer* (Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 142.

⁶*A Chaucer Reader* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1952), p. 85.

⁷*Geoffrey Chaucer of England* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1946), p. 276.

statement, against Chaucer's "irrepressible delight in living," and against the Wyf's "whoop of satisfaction."

I shall approach the Wyf of Bath through her creator, and with the statement that Geoffrey Chaucer was deeply preoccupied with moral questions. Even a mechanical test will reveal this preoccupation. In Robinson's edition, for example, *The Canterbury Tales* take up 295 pages. Of these, 66, more than one fifth, are given to Melibeus and the Parson's Tale, both of which are solid morality from beginning to end. If we add such moral tales as those of the Man of Law, the Prioress, the Monk, and the Second Nun, we raise the total of pure, or almost pure, morality to 35 per cent. But even tales which are not primarily or principally moral may contain a large admixture of preaching. The Pardoner, for example, tells a 515-line story which is universally praised for its swift development—but its development is only swift if we omit 176 lines of frank preaching on the subject of Luxuria. That is to say, 35 per cent of the Pardoner's Tale is undiluted moralizing; and, of course, the point of the whole thing is frighteningly moral.⁸

If we examine Chaucer's work as a whole, we shall find that at the very least a full third of it consists of that "moralitee and holinesse" which he promised, among other things, when he began *The Canterbury Tales*. But this obvious fact is likely to be surprising to the generality of modern readers who skip the morality and read the bare stories. For a hundred persons who claim an acquaintance with *The Canterbury Tales*, it is doubtful if so many as one or two have read Melibeus and the Parson's Tale. Indeed, if they know Chaucer by books of selections, they have never had an opportunity to read either of these works; yet Melibeus and the Parson's Tale, especially the latter, contain some of Chaucer's liveliest, most colourful, most urgent writing:⁹ and they are probably closer to the real Chaucer than all the rest of *The Canterbury Tales* together. Even those tales which the modern reader does enjoy, he does not read for the moral values involved in them. He comes away from the sermon remembering only the exemplum. The modern reader, in short, simply will not eat his spinach.

An illustration of the point I am labouring may be found in the fact that many scholars have felt that Chaucer could not possibly have written the Retracciouns at the end of *The Canterbury Tales*. Others have suggested that the Retracciouns are due to illness and fear of death or to a sudden access of holiness on Chaucer's part. But there is probably more of the true inwardness of Chaucer in this piece than in any other work from

⁸George R. Stewart in an article I have not seen, "The Moral Chaucer," *Essays in Criticism* (University of California Press, 1928), is said to have concluded that one half of Chaucer's work is moral in purpose. See *The Year's Work in English Studies*, X (1929), 106-7.

⁹Few scholars would agree. A typical comment is that of Marchette Chute, *op. cit.*, p. 309: "It [the Parson's Tale] is written in the laborious style that was Chaucer's usual one in prose, heavy, full of effort and painfully in earnest. It is a man flogging his pen, etc." I agree that the Parson and Chaucer are in earnest. Prose, of course, was born later than poetry, later than drama. Accepting the limitations of an inchoate form, any person who will read the Parson will find him lively, vivid, and vigorous.

his pen of length at all comparable. We forget the grip that religion had upon the minds and hearts and lives of men in a day when there was one and one only universal Church, and when life-expectancy at birth was twenty-five years—and not sixty-seven as now among us. We forget that the Church dominated every landscape with towers and steeples and spires. We forget—to speak in the large—that the Church was the only hospital, the only eleemosynary institution, the only art gallery, the only publisher, the only public school, the only employer of men of learning and culture. We forget that Protestantism and Democracy and Darwinism and the Industrial Revolution and the Atomic Age had not emerged from that darkness in which the only light that shone was the light of Mother Church, the Comforter of men and their sure Guide through eternity.

Hold in mind for a moment the living, omnipresent, overpowering influence of the Church, and let me read the Retracciouns to you and ask if they do not present a vivid portrait of an actual medieval Chaucer:

Now preye I to hem alle that herkne this litel tretys or rede, that if there be any thyng in it that liketh hem, that therof they thanken oure Lord Jhesu Crist, of whom procedeth al wit and al goodnesse./ And if ther be any thyng that displese hem, I preye hem also that they arrette it to the defeaute of myn unkonnyng, and nat to my wyl, that wolde ful fayn have seyde bettere if I hadde had konnyng./ For oure book seith, "Al that is writen is writen for oure doctrine," and that is myn entente./ Wherefore I biseke yow mekely, for the mercy of God, that ye preye for me that Crist have mercy on me and foryeve me my giltes;/ and namely of my translacions and enditynges of worldly vanitees, the whiche I revoke in my retracciouns:/ as is the book of Troilus; the book also of Fame; the book of the .xix. Ladies; the book of the Duchesse; the book of Seint Valentynes day of the Parlement of Briddes; the tales of Caunterbury, thilke that sownen into synne;/ the book of the Leoun; and many another book, if they were in my remembrance, and many a song and many a leccherous lay; that Crist for his grete mercy foryeve me the synne./ But of the translation of Boece de Consolacione, and othere bookes of legendes of seintes, and omelies, and moralitee, and devocioun,/ that thanke I oure Lord Jhesu Crist and his blisful Mooder, and alle the seintes of hevene,/ bisekyng hem that they from hennes forth unto my lyves ende sende me grace to biwayle my giltes, and to studie to the salvacioun of my soule, and graunte me grace of verray penitence, confessioun and satisfaccioun to doon in this present lyf,/ thurgh the benigne grace of hym that is kyng of kynges and preest over alle preestes, that boghte us with the precious blood of his herte;/ so that I may been oon of hem at the day of doom that shulle be saved. *Qui cum patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat Deus per omnia secula. Amen.*

The point I am trying to make is that most readers approach Chaucer as if he were a twentieth-century writer who did not know how to spell.¹⁰ But if we wish to know what he really was, we have only to compare his

¹⁰Marchette Chute says in her Preface (*op. cit.*, p. 7) that Chaucer "is able to establish himself promptly and intimately in the minds of his readers and behave there as though he were a contemporary." Many instructors of freshmen would not agree. She continues: "Geoffrey Chaucer is a modern writer in a more specific way than that. The fourteenth century had a great deal in common with the twentieth. . . ." At this point a true medievalist might be excused from reading further in what is, nevertheless, an interesting book. As readers of freshman essays might agree, Dryden has perhaps done us more harm than good.

Canterbury Tales with other collections of stories. How many of these collections find their inspiration in a *pilgrimage*? How many of them conclude with a *sermon*?¹¹ How many of them not only end with a sermon, but include sermons? When we ask such questions, the character of Chaucer stands out in bold individuality.

Let us remember also that *The Canterbury Tales* is incomplete, and that no artist can dispense with contrast. White is only white because black exists, and highlights are impossible without a darker ground. No admirable character in Chaucer tells a dirty story; and the admirable characters, like the Knight and the Parson, stand out by contrast with their fellows. The sun is not contaminated, the Parson tells us, by shining on the mixme, or dunghill. No more is the character of Chaucer contaminated by presenting the world he knew. When he speaks in his own person, he gives us the dainty and frivolous nonsense of Sir Thopas or the solid morality of Melibeus. If *The Canterbury Tales* had been completed, we should have found every part of it subordinated to one large, overwhelming moral purpose—and Chaucer would not need to have retracted tales that "sownen into synne," any more than the Parson needs to apologize for speaking in plain terms of the sins of the world.

Another self-portrait of Chaucer appears at the end of *Troilus and Criseyde*. It reveals the same man who wrote the Retracciouns, speaking in lines so simple and direct and fervent that they must be sincere. It is the noblest passage, of its length, in all Chaucer—yet it would be difficult to find it in any book of selections, in any anthology:

O yonge, fresshe folkes, he or she,
In which that love up groweth with youre age,
Repeyareth hom fro worldly vanyte,
And of youre herte up casteth the visage
To thilke God that after his ymage
Yow made, and thynketh all nys but a faire
This world, that passeth soone as floures faire.

¹¹It is with genuine regret that I find myself differing at this point from Manly and Rickert. In their *Text of The Canterbury Tales* (University of Chicago Press, 1940), IV, 527, they say, "The Chaucerian authorship of the [Parson's] Tale, however, has often been called in question." They believe that Chaucer wrote two papers which were later by another hand roughly incorporated into the Parson's Tale; and, since the general Prologue of *The Canterbury Tales* plans for a feast at the return from Canterbury, they feel that Chaucer did not plan to use the Parson's Tale at all. They conclude, "It therefore seems possible that the person—probably a priest—who composed the Retraction found two prose treatises among Chaucer's papers and consolidated them for the purpose of supplying the missing prose tale promised by the Parson."

It will be noted, in passing, that Manly and Rickert did not believe that Chaucer wrote the Retraction. They do admit, however, that the textual authority is as strong and good for the Parson's Tale and the Retraction as for any other part of *The Canterbury Tales*. Differences between the initial plan and the final outcome are common enough in literature—and they are to be expected in such an enormous work as Chaucer planned, so little of which was actually accomplished. Indeed, Manly and Rickert themselves have pointed out many of Chaucer's changes of mind. Further, why should the supposed priest write a Retraction when he could simply destroy the whole *Canterbury Tales*?

My own feeling is that Chaucer, realizing that he could not complete the first enormous plan, used the Parson's Tale to round out what was done—or what might be done—and to give a new, though lesser, unity and completeness.

And loveth hym, the which that right for love
 Upon a crois, oure soules for to beye,
 First starf, and roos, and sit in hevene above;
 For he nyl falsen no wight, dar I seye,
 That wol his herte al holly on hym leye.
 And syn he best to love is, and most meke,
 What nedeth feynede loves for to seke?

.
 O moral Gower, this book I directe
 To the and to the, philosophical Strode,
 To vouchen sauf, ther nede is, to correcte,
 Of youre benignites and zeles goode.
 And to that sothefast Crist, that starf on rode,
 With al myn herte of mercy evere I preye,
 And to the Lord right thus I speke and seye:
 Thow oon, and two, and thre, eterne on lyve,
 That regnest ay in thre, and two, and oon,
 Uncircumscrip, and al maist circumscribe,
 Us from visible and invisible foon
 Defende, and to thy mercy, everichon,
 So make us, Jesus, for thi mercy digne,
 For love of mayde and moder thyn benigne. Amen.

Is not this the same man who wrote the *Retracciouns*? I would have you notice, in passing, the high compliment he pays to philosophical Strode and moral Gower whom we, in our time, would hardly call moral. But, once again, we read Gower for the story, and fail to realize that the story is only an exemplum. Every sort of anecdote and tale was grist to the mill of the medieval preacher and moralist.

If you are not over-weary of "earnestful matere," I should like to present one more glimpse of the true Chaucer. It is the Envoy to his Balade on "Lak of Stedfastnesse," addressed to Richard II:

O prince, desyre to be honourable,
 Cherish thy folk and hate extorcioun!
 Suffre nothing that may be reprevable
 To thyn estat don in thy regioun.
 Shew forth thy swerd of castigacioun,
 Dred God, do law, love trouthe and worthinesse,
 And wed thy folk agein to stedfastnesse.

You may feel that I am approaching the Tragic Figure of the Wyf of Bath like a man who goes from Edmonton to Winnipeg by way of Aklavik. I can only reply, with Polonius, "Good Madam, stay a while. I will be faithful." For the Wyf of Bath is the creation of a deeply serious, moralizing author.

The next great element in the character of Chaucer is that he is a conscious artist. One need hardly advance proof for such a statement; but perhaps a word may be said about his artistic reticence. He does not always drive a point home with a sledge-hammer, but—to quote one of his most acute critics, John Matthews Manly—his method is often that

of opening a window upon life and letting the reader see the persons and events of the writer's vision. . . . And this is the reason why his satire is so convincing. He does not argue, and there is no temptation to refute him. He does not declaim, and there is no opportunity for reply. He merely lets us see his fools and rascals in their native foolishness and rascality, and *we necessarily think of them as he would have us think.*¹²

We have been told, often enough, that Chaucer was no reformer. Was he stupid, then? Is it possible that a man of his great artistic skill, combined with an ever-present moralizing bent, could be unaware of what he was doing when he brought in the Pardoner, the Monk, the Summoner, the Friar, to say nothing of other reported ecclesiastical scoundrels of varying immorality and wickedness, and set them off against the saintly Parson? Surely the proposition is absurd, for the man who can gauge audience response with minute accuracy, as Chaucer could, must know what effect his work has on the minds of his audience. In a day when Wycliff was burning up England, Chaucer at the very centre served the crown in a dozen confidential capacities. He must have known the need for Church reform—and his Prologue shows that he did. Knowing the need of reform, and capable of judging the effect of his work within a scruple of a scruple, he nevertheless presents religious dignitaries in such fashion that nobody can possibly, in his day or ours, finish reading the Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales* with an enhanced veneration for the professional religious of that time. But, alas, it takes a great and perceptive critic to meet a great and reticent artist—and true perceptiveness is a much rarer quality among critics than one might suppose. We feel as Chaucer wants us to feel, but we say, "Of course he didn't mean it," and absolve him from responsibility, from reforming zeal. And that absolution is just what Chaucer desired: it would permit him to continue as an unpersecuted, living reformer!

It will be in point to present an example of Chaucer's reticence and of the failure of critics to notice what he is up to; and it will be appropriate to find such an example in the Wyf of Bath's Tale. In that tale, you will remember, a young Knight of Arthur's court saw a maid walking before him as he rode home from hunting; and "By verray force, he rafte hire maydenhed." When this crime became known, King Arthur sentenced the young Knight to death; but the Queen intervened on his behalf, and Arthur gave her jurisdiction over the case. She offers the young man his life if he can discover within a year and a day what thing it is that women most desire. He sets out on his quest and gets many conflicting answers. At the year's end, riding homeward in despair, he sees a dance of ladies—or fairies—in a forest glade. When he rides in their direction they disappear, and he sees only an old ugly crone sitting by the way. She volunteers that she can answer his question; and she will do so provided he *grants* her next request after winning his freedom. The answer she teaches him is that women desire most of all to have sovereignty in marriage. This is

¹²*New Light on Chaucer* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1926), p. 295. Italics mine.

the correct answer, and when it is given in court, the old hag presents her next request, that the young man marry her. With great unwillingness he does so, honouring his bargain. When they are wedded and bedded, the young man is sore at heart. His wife asks whether he would prefer to have her as she is and faithful to him, or to have her young and beautiful and take his chance in rivalry with others for her affections. Between these two hells he cannot choose, and says at last, "It must be as you wish." "Then you have granted me sovereignty in our marriage!" she exclaims. He agrees. She commands a kiss—and is transformed by it into a young and entrancingly beautiful lady who, of course, will be faithful to him forever.

The Tale is a beautiful one, and it is delightfully told. There is not the slightest lapse in taste in the telling, such as we might expect if the story were really told by the Wyf of Bath and not written by Chaucer. But, I must confess, there are two things in it which formerly I could not understand—and no critic or scholar had explained them. The first was that I could not see how this young Knight *deserved* his happiness. What kind of lesson is moral Chaucer teaching if the reward for raping virgins is a marriage of otherworldly happiness? And the second stumbling block was the rape itself. Why must such an unpleasant thing be the initial incident of so beautiful a tale? All that is necessary is that the young man should be under sentence of death; and surely the story would be better if he were innocently or accidentally so.

We cannot escape this dilemma by supposing that Chaucer thoughtlessly took over the rape from a source. There are scores of analogues for the Tale in the folk and fairy lore of the world; but the only one in which the initial incident is rape is the Wyf of Bath's Tale. Perhaps one might have said that rape fits the vulgarity of the Wyf who tells the story, but, as we have seen, Kemp Malone would deny that the story does fit her character—and it is otherwise told in flawless good taste.

The only comment I have found on this matter is that of Germaine Dempster who says, "the probability seems strong that Chaucer himself added the rape episode for the sake of its humorous effect"¹³—i.e., for the contrast between the "sheer violence" of the young Knight raping the virgin, and his later meekness as a husband. Chaucer certainly is a humorist; but if that is a true example of his humour, I would disown him and cut him off without a penny.

We must always give a great artist our faith; and when we fail to understand, we must first act on the presumption not that he has made a mistake, but that we have failed to comprehend his purpose. The fact is that Chaucer introduced that rape into the story, and the fact is that a rapist is not worthy of the enchanting wife this one is blessed with at the end, and the fact is that Chaucer is a very great, but reticent, artist. Now what is there in this puzzle that we have overlooked?

We have overlooked what everyone overlooks in Chaucer, the sermon,

¹³*Dramatic Irony in Chaucer* (Stanford University Press, 1932), pp. 59–60.

the moralizing. Just as readers leap through the Pardoner's Tale skipping 176 lines that deal with the vice of Luxuria, so we read with lack-lustre eye, or skip altogether, the sermon in the Wyf's tale which deals with "gentillesse." And it occupies almost a third of the space given to this Tale, 113 lines out of 399. Is it fair to Chaucer the artist to treat that bulk of material as a pointless digression?

Let us look at that sermon with a little keener interest than it usually receives. When the young Knight twists and turns in despair in bed with his wife, she asks why he is so unhappy. He replies that she is so loathsome, old, and come of such low degree that he cannot stomach her. He is at least honest, and this honesty is a promise of better things. She replies with a long sermon about high and low degree, about gentillesse, emphasizing the moral,

Thanne am I gentil, whan that I begynne
To lyven vertuously and weye synne.

And, do you know, in this long discussion the old hag does not say to her high-born husband by plain statement or by implication a single word about such gentillesse as may be exhibited in running about the country raping virgins! The fact reveals her beauty of character—and the unobtrusive artistry of Chaucer. He knows how he would have us think, but he is not a pedagogue, labouring a moral; nevertheless, if we read the *whole* story, we cannot miss the point. The point is simply this, that there is a *double* transformation in the Wyf's Tale: the old crone is transformed into a young and lovely lady; and the wild young Knight is converted into a virtuous gentleman—and the agency whereby this second transformation is secured is a cogent and beautiful discourse on the subject of true gentillesse.

We must, obviously, read *all* of Chaucer if we are to understand and appreciate him. We must take the fat with the lean, chew valiantly at the gristle, and gnaw the very bones. For a further example, nobody can say that he has any true, vivid, or complete understanding of *The Canterbury Tales* who has not read the Parson's Tale. For with the Parson's Tale, as he tells us, Chaucer intended to knit up the entire work. Everything that has been shown or discussed in individual tales finds abundant echoes in the Parson's sermon on Penitence and the Seven Deadly Sins. Or, to say it at a word, let us remember Chaucer's vivid portraits in the general Prologue, especially his accounts of fantastic clothing. When the Parson discusses Superbia or Pride with the liveliest and most contemptuous or wrathful comments on pride in dress, how many of those listening to him must have felt the arrows of his eloquence pierce their own hides? But he does not refer by name to a single one of them. The fact is that Chaucer, moralist and artist, presents his choice gang of pilgrims with their faults, follies, or scandalous behaviour laughing and squabbling along on their *pilgrimage*—Heaven save the mark!—and then he brings in the Parson

to echo every tale that has been told, and blister the lot of them. Largely for this purpose, indeed, the Parson was created. Has not Chaucer told us that this "good man . . . of religioun" respected neither rank nor privilege, but would "snybben sharply for the nonys" any person persistent in sin, "What so he were, of heigh or lough estat." We may be sure that by the time the Parson got through with them the Canterbury pilgrims were pilgrims indeed, well snybben, chastened, subdued, and repentant, in a mood to worship at the shrine of St. Thomas and ask forgiveness for their sins. But Chaucer does not diagram what he is up to in the manner of a geometrical demonstration, and then cry, "Q.E.D.!" He opens the window upon life so that he who has eyes to see, may see.

With your permission and charity, I should like to make one more side-trip on the way from Edmonton to Winnipeg, and this time look at the Merchant's Tale. It presents, everyone must agree, one of the most revolting scenes in all our literature, the scene of January and May in bed together after their wedding. The picture of the ancient husband, newly shaven but with bristles "Lyk to the skyn of houndfyssh, sharp as brere," and with the "slakke skyn aboute his nekke," filled to the gorge with aphrodisiacs, dandling his fresh young bride is so disgusting as to leave little doubt of what Chaucer thought of such a marriage. But he permits himself only one characteristic understatement:

But God woot what that May thoughte in hir herte
Whan she hym saugh up sittynge in his sherte
In his nyght-cappe, and with his nekke lene.

This old January, you will remember, had lived single previously to this marriage, "And folwed ay his bodily delyt On wommen, ther as was his appetyt," until in the end, "Were it for hooolynesse or for dotage," he decided to marry. He does pretend in conversation that he marries for holiness—although his thoughts, as Chaucer records them, are fleshly—and says to his wife when he is first in bed with her:

A man may do no synne with his wyf,
Ne hurte hymselfen with his owene knyf;
For we han leve to pleye us by the lawe.

As I have said, if we wish to understand *The Canterbury Tales*, we must read the Parson who, indeed, promises to "telle a myrie tale in prose To knytte up al this feeste, and make an ende." In this case, however, I hesitate to present to a modern audience the end the Parson makes of old January; but as I hate an insecure proof as Sir Toby Belch hated an unfilled can, with your forbearance I shall read it:

And moore fooles been they that kissen in vileynye, for that mouth is the mouth of helle; and namely thise olde dotardes holours, yet wol they kisse, though they may nat do, and smatre hem./ Certes, they been lyk to houndes; for an hound, when he comth by the roser or by othere [bushes], though he may nat pisse, yet whole he heve vp his leg and make a contenance to

pisse./ And for that many man weneth that he may nat synne, for no likerousnesse that he dooth with his wyf, certes, that opinion is fals. God woot, a man may sleen hymself with his owene knyf, and make hymselfen dronken of his owene tonne. *THE PARSON'S TALE*, ll. 857-9.

That the Parson is thinking of January here and knitting up that part of *The Canterbury Tales* is evident from the fact that he speaks of "olde dotardes holours," or lechers, and echoes the very language of January. I take it as proved that Chaucer looked upon such a marriage as that of old January and young May with disgust.

The Wyf of Bath had experienced *three* such marriages, beginning at the age of twelve, with three old, worn-out lechers and drunken sots—and the world calls her a comic figure!

She says, "Experience, though noon auctoritee Were in this world, is right ynogh for me To speke of wo that is in mariage." Later, in answer to the Pardoner, she says that she has "been the whippe" that created "tribulacion" for her husbands, that is, she has paid them back well enough; but we may be perfectly sure that she has indeed herself experienced the "wo" that may be in marriage. Of her husbands she says, "I shall seye sooth, tho housbondes that I hadde, As thre of hem were goode, and two were badde." *Good*, we must notice, does not mean virtuous. It means what we mean when we speak of a good match. The only happy marriage she experienced was with the second of the "badde" husbands. He was not wicked. She means that he had no money; he was a poor scholar.¹⁴ And since the Wyf first married at the age of twelve, we may be sure that her own wishes were not then consulted. Indeed, none of these three old dotards could have married her at her own choice.

She continues:

The thre were goode men, and riche, and olde;
Unnethe myghte they the statut holde
In which that they were bounden unto me.

I need not remind you of the "statut" in which they were bound unto her. Marriage is a sacrament instituted for the decent begetting of children—but the first three husbands of the Wyf were beyond fulfilling that obligation.

Chaucer does not tell how long these marriages lasted; but it would appear that by the time the third "good" husband had creaked and tottered into his grave, the Wyf was her own woman and could choose for herself—and she chose wrong!

My fourthe housbonde was a revelour;
This is to seyn, he hadde a paramour;
And I was yong and ful of ragerye,
Stibourn and strong, and joly as a pye.

¹⁴John Speirs says, *Chaucer the Maker* (London: Faber & Faber, n.d.), p. 138: "The three first [sic] who were good were so because they were easily governed." As the Wyf tells of them, they do not seem so. The fact is that the only husband with whom she was happy was the last, the only one who gave her "sovereignty."

Here is tragedy again. She was still young, since the three old wrecks had not lasted long, and the fourth husband no doubt married her for her wealth. But while she remained over-sexed and "joly as a pye," he poured her treasures into foreign laps. He was certainly not only a bad match, but a bad husband; but in time he also died, and she buried him with contemptuous thrift. The Wyf was now forty years old.

She took a young, impecunious clerk to husband and had much difficulty in teaching him that happiness in marriage depends upon the sovereignty of the wife. It came even to physical combat. But in the end they were happy for a brief time, although she was beyond child-bearing, the prime function of marriage, at least in her eyes. Of this last husband she speaks kindly and with genuine regret:

After that day we hadden never debaat.
God helpe me so, I was to hym as kynde
As any wyf from Denmark unto Ynde,
And also trewe, and so was he to me.
I prey to God, that sit in magestee,
So blesse his soule for his mercy deere.

This last marriage, begun in turmoil and ending in happiness, must have been brief, for the Wyf was more than forty when it began, and she is still young enough to contemplate the possibility of a sixth husband.

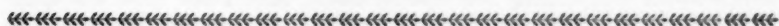
An over-sexed woman, three Januaries and a husband with a paramour who carry her to her fortieth year. And all the pilgrimages! Why all these long and arduous journeys to Rome, to Boulogne, to Saint James in Galicia, to Cologne, and, even, three times to Jerusalem? Why would women go on pilgrimages? Chaucer does not mention or suggest that a child was ever born of the body of the Wyf of Bath. She is so frank in her revelations that the omission becomes significant. And she is quite clear on the purpose of marriage.

Psychology now presumes to have become, according to its adepts, an exact science. But Chaucer knew as well as we do what all that bluster and arrogance and garrulity of the Wyf of Bath really covers. We may laugh if we like, but the man whom the Host rallied for his melancholy, for staring ever upon the ground, we may be sure that he saw deeper than most into the lives of people. To him child marriage was abominable, and the Wyf of Bath was a tragic figure.

In saying so, I do not deny that Chaucer originally intended to give the Shipman's Tale to the Wyf or that he first thought of her as simply a boisterous "joly body." What I do mean is that his conception of her altered as he worked with the material. In the general Prologue he ascribes to her some extra-marital affairs, the "oother compaignye in youthe." But she says in her own Prologue, "Yet in bacon hadde I nevere delit." And although she "quit" her fourth husband's faithlessness, she expressly denies any extra-marital affair of her own:

I made hym of the same wode a croce;
Nat of my body, in no foul manere,
But certainly, I made folk swich cheere
That in his owene grece I mad hym frye
For angre, and for verray jalousye.

She does say, it is true, that she "koude noght withdrawe My chambre of Venus from a good felawe," but I cannot find any express statement that she had any sexual affairs outside of marriage. This whole question seems confused—and we must remember that Chaucer never completed his work, much less revised it to eliminate inconsistencies; but I take it that in his latest view of the Wyf it was not "bacon" she desired, but children; and she certainly speaks several times of having been true to her husbands. The outside of her is still boisterous and blustering; but as Chaucer worked on the portrait of the Wyf of Bath, his sympathy and pity were more and more enlisted, and it gained a new dimension from the tragic understanding of the artist.



So Little for the Mind: Comments and Queries*

By FRANK H. UNDERHILL, F.R.S.C.

ANY discussion on education in Section II of the Royal Society faces a double risk. On the one hand, it may sink into a process of collective bellyaching by the elderly members of the Section about the deplorable decline in standards in the schools since they were youthful students. On the other hand, it may float off into lofty and empty moral platitudes about the aims and aspirations of our profession, ennobled by quotations from every work which has ever expressed uplifting sentiments on the subject from Plato's *Republic* to the latest university convocation address. Perhaps all that we shall accomplish this morning will be to reach the conclusion of that famous Canadian statesman, the Honourable Philip Buster. You remember, he used to appear on the Citizens' Forum programmes conducted by old Rawhide; and when confronted by any difficult question on education, he would come out with a plain, unequivocal declaration of where he stood: "I believe that the boys and girls of today are the men and women of tomorrow."

In taking Hilda Neatby's book, *So Little for the Mind*, as our jumping-off point, we impose on ourselves another difficulty. As far as one can observe, the book has been received with rapture by most of the working teachers and by most of the parents of middle-brow intellectual status or better. But the swivel-chair educators who were the chief victims of Miss Neatby's onslaught regard her as pious Catholic churchmen regard Voltaire. And between the two groups there seems to be no common ground.

In the few rambling reflections which I have to offer this morning I cannot profess to have uncovered that common ground. I start with strong prejudices in favour of one side of the controversy. I enjoyed Miss Neatby's skill in writing vivacious, witty prose; though here I probably differed from most of my fellow-citizens, since all right-thinking Canadians are agreed that the habit of indulging in wit and irony is indicative of some deep-seated moral obliquity. When she made the pompous pundits of Education howl with rage as she flicked the raw spots on their hides, I just sat back and laughed and laughed.

But I must admit that, as I read on in her book and in her later Armstrong Lecture delivered at Toronto, *The Debt of Our Reason*, I was a little upset by the revelation of the extent to which she has carried her

*Part of a symposium—"So Little for the Mind." See also papers by Andrew Moore, N. A. M. MacKenzie, F. E. L. Priestley.

conservatism in reaction against these shallow, modern, self-styled progressives. I had not sensed such a conservatism, almost theological, in the days when I was reading her student essays. And I still have not quite adjusted my mind to the thought of Saskatoon and the University of Saskatchewan as the new home of lost causes and forsaken beliefs and unpopular names and impossible loyalties. "Beautiful city! so venerable, so lovely, so unravaged by the fierce intellectual life of our century, so serene! . . . steeped in sentiment, spreading her gardens to the moonlight, and whispering from her towers the last enchantments of the Middle Age."

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I should like first to make a few remarks about the replies presented by the professional educationists to Miss Neatby's criticisms. As I have listened to them on the air and in the lecture halls or read their reviews, it has seemed to me that they manoeuvre warily around the periphery of her case, objecting to certain quotations as being unfairly lifted out of context, declaring that they never really meant what on her representation they clearly seem to have said, etc., etc. These are the usual tactics of the skilful debater with a doubtful cause on his hands—to fasten on small, relatively unimportant points so as to distract attention from the really important issues. They carefully avoid her central indictment, the main theme of her book, which is that the kind of education currently being given in our schools is anti-intellectual, anti-cultural, and amoral. Or they attempt to side-step discussion by having recourse to some of their favourite catch-words. When they are accused of giving so little for the mind, they reply: "We teach the whole child." When they are charged with pushing the old well-proved subject-matter out of the curriculum, they reply: "We teach children, not subjects."

Now, of course, if they really do try to teach the whole child, they must explain what they do for the child's mind, which is, to say the least, an important part of his whole self. Their endlessly reiterated emphasis on what they do for the other sides of the child's personality in their splendid modern schools leads inevitably to the suspicion that they really have, to a great extent, abandoned serious intellectual training and discipline for the great majority of children in their charge.

Another favourite defence method of the pedagogical experts is to concentrate attention on the genuinely successful techniques which they have developed for teaching the youngest children in the more elementary grades and to shun discussion about the comparative failure of the schools in the more advanced grades, especially in the secondary schools. After all, there must be something in the complaints which one hears on all sides, from parents, from employers, from university teachers, about the intellectual quality of the products of our high schools—their inability to read or to express themselves in writing, their boredom, their vulgarity, their purposelessness, their lack of curiosity or understanding about any

kind of life except what is comprised in the narrow experience of their own group, their failure to reach the position where they are on the way to become inner-directed rather than other-directed. The ultimate purpose of the school is not to make children happy in solving children's problems but to prepare them to solve the problems of the men and women they are to become.

In fairness, as a university teacher, I should add that our universities, with their immense apparatus of what is euphemistically known as extra-curricular activity, have also got dangerously close to allowing themselves to become institutions for prolonging the adolescence of their students rather than turning them into adults. Ex-President R. M. Hutchins, in one of his recent books on American education, has remarked that just as we have now come to recognize a new profession in our contemporary society, that of baby-sitter, so we should recognize the real function of college professors, and call them adolescent-sitters. We are paid to keep adolescents out of mischief for four years.

Examples to illustrate this large-scale failure of secondary and college education, because of its refusal to insist on high intellectual standards, crowd into one's mind. Everybody has a few favourite ones of his own. I came across one a few months ago in the American journal, *School and Society*, which struck me as fresh and very much to the point. It is part of the confession of a college professor of English literature: "When I see how vulgarly and publicly the students choose to make love, I wonder whether I myself, as a teacher of literature, expounding texts from Chaucer, Shakespeare and Browning, for example, in which love is felt and made most beautifully, have not failed to make these passages come alive in my students' minds in such a way as implicitly to expose and so to lessen their own vulgarity."¹

As for the verbal jingle about teaching children, not subjects, which seems to fascinate the so-called progressive educators, surely their fascination reveals something about themselves of which they are not quite conscious. For if you teach children, you obviously must be teaching them something; and if you teach subjects, you obviously must be teaching them to somebody. People who find such charm in this phrase "We teach children, not subjects" seem to me to reveal that in their own youth they suffered from an insufficient training in the elementary rules of grammar, and that they have not even yet quite mastered the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs and between the accusative and the dative cases. As an American professor of history remarked recently, "grammar" has become an obscene word with most professional educationists.

The professional experts have also replied with one voice to Miss Neathy in charging that she has not visited their schools, that she is writing from some ivory academic tower in the University of Saskatchewan. Here again they seem to me to show their incapacity for making some very simple

¹Edward E. Cummings, "What is a College?" *School and Society*, March 20, 1954.

distinctions. The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and the process of proof is conducted not in the kitchen (the school) but in the dining-room. The proof of what the schools are accomplishing is provided by the behaviour and the capacity of their students out of school, when they go on to university, when they take up jobs, or when they expose themselves to external examination in their social activities. Miss Neatby has been conducting such a process of proof in her twenty years of teaching the choicer products of Saskatchewan schools in the University. You may, by going out into the kitchen, learn a good deal about the cook's problems and difficulties, but all the cook's explanations and demonstrations don't affect the question of whether the pudding is good or not. That is decided in the dining-room. Duncan Hines has become an authority on North American meals not because he goes snooping around kitchens, though he does do this systematically, but because he was born with a sensitive equipment of taste-buds and has acquired a wide experience of dining-rooms.

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I should like to pass now to some remarks on the subject of John Dewey and his influence in Canadian education. Miss Neatby has erected Dewey into a kind of personal devil on whom she heaps the blame for everything which she finds amiss in the theory and practice of our schools. That he is an American devil makes him still more diabolical in her eyes. I wish to advance the thesis that the real devil whom she should have unearthed in her investigations of our Canadian education is a good loyalist Canadian, to wit, the late Egerton Ryerson.

Dewey is undoubtedly an imposing figure in the North American educational world. But, as always happens with an original, imaginative, creative thinker, his school of disciples, now in the second generation, have tended to vulgarize his teachings, and have made into rigid and mechanical dogmas what were with him suggestive hypotheses. I observe, in reading American books and articles on the controversy which Miss Neatby has started in Canada but which has been going on for a long time in the United States, that you can find very effective quotations in Dewey's own writings condemning practically every tendency in the so-called progressive practices of our schools which Miss Neatby has assailed. Certainly Dewey never intended the new techniques which he devised for appealing to the interest of the young student as substitutes for intellectual training; he thought of them as better devices for stimulating intellectual activity.²

There are also certain fundamental parts of Dewey's teaching which never seem to have really spread northward into our Canadian education. For one thing, Dewey belonged to the school of moral philosophers who think it possible to build up a scientific naturalist basis for morals quite apart from religion. Miss Neatby, when she criticizes the teaching of our

²The shrewdest and sanest discussion of Deweyism in American schools, and of recent trends in American primary and secondary education, that I have come across is that by Paul Woodring in his book *Let's Talk Sense about the Schools* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953).

schools as being amoral, knows where she stands on this issue, because she believes that morality cannot flourish except on a religious basis; and she correctly regards the Dewey school as philosophic enemies in this matter. But our Canadian Deweyites don't seem to know what she is talking about, or don't see fit to show that they know. After all, just try to imagine any Canadian educational administrator ever admitting publicly to being any other but a proper, respectable, god-fearing church-goer!

Dewey also was a child of the Progressive era in American politics. He grew up in that generation at the end of the nineteenth century which was trying to restore the vitality of American democratic ideals, to make them real again after a long process of undermining and corruption under the domination of big-business plutocracy. All his teaching had a definite political colour and purpose. He was a contemporary and colleague of Thorstein Veblen and Uncle Charlie Beard and other such iconoclasts. And his disciples in Teachers' Colleges, finding themselves by the 1930's in the midst of a far more profound crisis of democracy than the early Dewey had ever dreamt of, set themselves to train teachers who would have a tough realistic understanding of this social, intellectual, and spiritual crisis. They conceived of education as having the responsibility of functioning on a social frontier, as they put it. I suppose the most famous literary production of Teachers' College in the 1930's was George Counts' pamphlet, *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* Dewey himself to nearly the end of his life was active in all the left, non-communist, political movements. Miss Neathy, as a political as well as an educational conservative, would no doubt object to all this side of the influence of Teachers' College. But, curiously enough, though it has led to hysterical attacks by American rabble-rousers upon a supposed subversive red conspiracy in their schools against one-hundred-per-cent Americanism, it never seems to have spread to Canada. Most of our Canadian Deweyites seem to be non-political innocents of the purest strain. The main thing they have imported from Teachers' College is the doctrine of social adjustment—social adjustment to the civilization of Toronto!

Teachers' College was trying to spread in the schools an awareness that the students of today are graduating into a society torn by fierce fundamental controversies, where all values are in question. And its professors were trying to make themselves and their pupil-teachers more sophisticated, more deeply and philosophically learned in the liberal democratic values. This, of course, all fitted in with Dewey's original teaching; for the main point of his analysis of the educational process was that thinking begins when you are confronted with a problem to be solved, a project to be carried out. But you would never dream when you read the superficial, sentimental platitudes about democracy of our Canadian educational experts that any one of them had ever been in contact with the tough-minded Dewey.

What this comes to is that it is a truncated Dewey who has been imported into Canada, that some of the most significant parts of his teach-

ing have hardly permeated the Canadian educational mind at all. All that has taken root here are some of his experimental techniques for training children; a myth that before Dewey all schools were dull, authoritarian, and repulsive; and a jumbled assortment of philosophical and psychological jargon which dazzles and hypnotizes Canadian as well as American technical educationists. But these fellows were made to be hypnotized by somebody. If Dewey had not been there readily available as a folk-hero for the educationists, some other great mythical figure would have emerged. In fact, if John Dewey had not existed at the beginning of the twentieth century, it would have been necessary for our North American colleges of education to invent him.

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Miss Neatby has found Dewey too attractive as a personal devil. She is still too much taken up with the task of saving Canadian culture from those baneful American influences which were discovered by the Massey Commission. Actually her book can be paralleled by a good many similar books in the United States protesting against the same influences and tendencies which rouse her Canadian wrath. By an interesting coincidence, there was published, at almost the same time as *So Little for the Mind*, a book by a distinguished American professor of history, Professor Arthur E. Bestor, entitled *Educational Wastelands*, which has precisely the same theme as hers, as is indicated by its sub-title, "The Retreat from Learning in Our Public Schools."³ Professor Bestor has carried his campaign further than she has hers—he has been at it longer—for he has been attempting to rouse the American Historical Association and other learned societies against the crass anti-intellectualism of the pedagogical pundits. With the best anti-American will in the world, Miss Neatby only helps to reproduce in Canada the pattern which has already been traced out in the United States. If a sufficient number of Americans do develop an enthusiasm for reviving the original intellectual purposes of the schools, we shall no doubt follow their example—with the appropriate Canadian time-lag.

What is really wrong with our Canadian school system is not its domination by imported American ideas but its domination by a native interlocking directorate of orthodox bureaucrats in the provincial departments of education and expounders of orthodox doctrine in the colleges of education. It doesn't much matter what that orthodox doctrine is at any given moment. What is wrong with it is that it is laid down from above as the authoritarian party line. What most needs to be attacked is not the philosophy of these men but their power.⁴

³Arthur E. Bestor, *Educational Wastelands* (University of Illinois Press, 1953).

⁴If by some miracle a Disraeli were ever to arise among our educational statesmen, he would no doubt blandly remark that his educational philosophy is that of all sensible men, and if he were asked what that is, he would blandly explain that sensible men never tell. Unfortunately for themselves, the present makers of educational policy have recently been trying to tell; and Miss Neatby, unique among fourteen million Canadians, has actually read what they have to say. Hence all the rumpus.

Now the man who first centralized educational power in provincial departments of education was, of course, Egerton Ryerson. He was perfectly well justified in doing what he did in his own day, one hundred years ago, because he had to start from scratch, with no trained teachers, no normal schools, no text-books, no experienced local school-boards, and only a small nucleus of university-educated people in the whole colony; and out of this discouraging situation he had to start to produce an educated democracy in Upper Canada. He gathered power into his own hands as an instrument for the continuous expansion of educational services in the province and the continuous raising of the level of educational achievement. But today, after one hundred years, we have a great accumulation of trained, experienced, and wise teachers and of alert and educated parents. It is not Ryersons that we need now in our educational system. The time has come for the teachers to be given more power in making decisions about what shall be taught and how it shall be taught—more real power, not merely the formal sharing in power which comes from being appointed to consultative committees.⁵

One begins to see most clearly what is wrong with our school system if one compares the position of the teacher in the university with that of the teacher in the schools. Why is it that university professors are, on the whole, happy men in spite of their scandalously low salaries, while high-school teachers, whose salaries have gone up much more rapidly, because they have a trade union, are nearly all unhappy? It is because the university teachers enjoy the responsibility and dignity of members of a learned profession: they decide what shall be taught, what standards shall be set in their departments, what research needs to be done.

The universities, it is true, have an elaborate administrative machine, but it is a poor lot of professors who cannot effectively thwart any president who tries unintelligently to impose policies on them of which they disapprove. And as for the presidents, they provide an imposing front to impress the public; they keep themselves busy at their luncheons and dinners and other public functions, making speeches about the higher aspects of the higher learning in which they announce their profound conviction that the boys and girls of today are the men and women of tomorrow; entertaining each other at university convocations where they confer honorary degrees upon each other; but, to their credit, seldom interfering with the real work of the university, which is done by the scholars and scientists supposedly under their authority. A happier situation for the advancement of learning could hardly be imagined.

Our schools will emancipate themselves from most of the evils of which Miss Neatby complains when their teachers achieve the same mature responsibility for educational policy which is enjoyed by the university professors. They would be helped towards this goal if we had genuine

⁵This point is developed at length by Frank MacKinnon in his article, "Responsible Government in Education" in the *Dalhousie Review*, Spring, 1954.

professional organizations, such as exist in England, in the fields of history, English, mathematics, etc., in which university teachers and secondary-school teachers were common members discussing the professional problems of their particular discipline in common (the professional problems, not merely the trade-union problems). If such professional organizations existed to look after the interests of their branches of learning, the educational bureaucrats and the pedagogical experts would in due course be cut down to size.

In the end, of course, as we must all agree, the real threat to intellectual standards in our educational world comes not from a conspiracy of Deweyite professors of education but from the anti-intellectual atmosphere of our twentieth-century North American society. No doubt Miss Neatby and other critics are right in charging that our educational administrators have been carrying on a policy of appeasement towards this anti-intellectual society in which they have to operate; and some of them may be appeasers because in their hearts they more than half believe in the anti-intellectual values which prevail in the surrounding Philistine territory. But the real enemy is this Philistine spirit of our bustling, materially-successful, middle-class society.

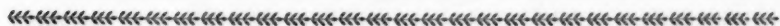
And now that I have mentioned the word Philistine, I come to my last point. If I had been writing Miss Neatby's book, I should have taken its title not from John Henry Newman but from Matthew Arnold, and I should have called it *Culture and Anarchy in Canada*. It is astonishing, if you re-read Arnold's classic treatise on *Culture and Anarchy*, which was published in 1869, to realize how identical his argument is with that of *So Little for the Mind*.⁶ In spite of all the differences of time and place and social tradition, the anarchy against which Arnold tilts is essentially one with the spirit in the colleges of education and the schools which arouses Miss Neatby's ire; and the culture which he holds out as the remedy is exactly what she tries to expound as traditional values. Miss Neatby could take comfort in Arnold's great horror of Americanism. As early as 1848 he was writing: "I see a wave of more than American vulgarity, moral, intellectual, and social, preparing to break over us." But the reason Americanism seemed dangerous to him was that it was just the full unimpeded development in a new society of what he called the Philistinism of his own English middle classes. He wanted to civilize these Philistines through Culture, by making them acquainted with the best that has been said and thought in the past. I recommend Matthew Arnold especially to Miss Neatby, because, if she came to see that she and Arnold are allies against a common enemy, she might acquire some of Arnold's ability to laugh ironically at her own side ("the grand old fortifying classical cur-

⁶A systematic analysis of Arnold's ideas on education and of his experiences as a school inspector is given in W. F. Connell, *The Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold* (London: Routledge, 1950). This book has a stimulating introduction by Sir Fred Clarke. According to Mr. Connell, Dewey in his various works frequently quotes Arnold with approval.

riculum") as well as sarcastically at the enemy. And she would recognize that the enemy is not really John Dewey, who was only ten years old when Arnold wrote *Culture and Anarchy*. It is Philistinism, which, as a religiously minded commentator⁷ on Arnold wrote a while ago, is one of the permanent forms of original sin in western man.

Well, we could all profit from a good deal more of Matthew Arnold's sweetness and light. And here I do finally come to a conclusion. No paper on education would come to a fitting conclusion if it did not close with a challenge. The finest challenge that I have encountered recently is that contained in the dedication at the front of Professor Bestor's book, *Educational Wastelands*. It runs: "To my sons, Bill, Tom and Ted, whose generation will need to know more and think harder than ours."

⁷George Painter, in *The Listener*, March 11, 1954.



An Attempt to Clarify Some Issues in Current Educational Thought and Practice*

By ANDREW MOORE

THE issues under consideration in this paper are largely concerned with certain defects in publicly supported schools in Canada but this does not mean that these schools have more defects than merits. In fact they have a very large balance on the credit side. As a rule, however, their merits are better known to the public because most school administrators tend to sing their praises (and incidentally something of their own) more often than to report their defects.

Because the present writer knows education in Manitoba better than anywhere else he has drawn most of his examples, some of them not too encouraging, from Manitoba sources but their counterparts can be found in nearly all the other provinces of Canada. This paper is not intended as an indictment of education in Manitoba or anywhere else but it aims to clarify some of the doubts which are now widespread in the minds of parents and all who are interested in Canadian education.

DEFINING THE ISSUES

Three broad issues concerning education are troubling the minds of many Canadians.

1. How does the Old-Fashioned School compare with the New-Fashioned School?
2. What are the distinguishing characteristics of today's model of an efficient publicly supported school?
3. What are some of the handicaps and distractions faced by today's schools?

Now that the high school has become practically everybody's school these issues will be considered particularly with respect to the high school.

At this point it is desirable to identify and define some of the concepts and components involved. First, our consideration may be restricted to formal education as far as the junior matriculation level. In English-speaking North America in general, and in Canada in particular, this formal education is largely a monopoly of the state, is almost entirely supported by public funds, and in Canada is a provincial responsibility. For example, in 1953 there were in Manitoba 139,745 pupils in schools

*Part of a symposium—"So Little for the Mind." See also papers by Frank H. Underhill, N. A. M. MacKenzie, F. E. L. Priestley.

supported by public funds and only 6,282 pupils in private schools.¹ There may be a somewhat higher proportion of private school pupils in central Canada but it would not be high enough to affect our generalization.

Second, these publicly supported schools for all children of the community have been evolved to supply formal education which the home is not equipped to provide, especially on the secondary level. Therefore the fundamental responsibility of the schools is to provide efficient instruction in at least the minimum curricula prescribed by the state.

THE OLD-FASHIONED SCHOOL

No doubt some of the older members of this audience attended schools where lickin' and larnin' were mixed. If a pupil had more than two mistakes in, say, Arithmetic, he was called up to the teacher's desk and not infrequently received as many strokes with a birch rod as the teacher thought were coming to him.

In matters of behaviour the pupil never received the benefit of the doubt. He might even convince the teacher that he had thrashed the wrong party but the pupil got no sympathy. The teacher's response was that probably he had missed the pupil half a dozen times when punishment was coming to him and that he was just getting caught up. Usually the pupil did not pursue the matter further for fear the teacher might continue to get caught up. *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* and *Glengarry School Days* give classic descriptions of this type of school.

Supporters of this type of school maintain that it was genuinely realistic, that its pupils discovered that life was a struggle for existence, and hard work was essential for satisfactory survival. It challenged their mental powers and strengthened their moral fibre. The teaching methods and disciplinary practices were thorough and effective. Certainly its pupils never expected to get something for nothing.

This school seldom offered anything but the matriculation type course and leaned heavily on books as the source of knowledge of the background of civilization. Teachers of science were of course developing "learning by doing" in laboratories and in field work. Obviously, too, the study of books under trained teachers was pre-eminently what the school could do much more efficiently than the home.

In this school the teacher was practically always right. In case of an argument neither the pupil nor his parents expected to win and as a matter of fact they seldom tried to. It is true that many pupils attempted many misdemeanours and at times were grossly insubordinate but they expected the school to prevail in the end. So long as teachers are fair and square they can be very strict. Even today pupils know when they have punishment coming to them and frequently deep down in their hearts they do

¹Report of the Department of Education [Manitoba] for the year ending June 30, 1953, p. 142.

not have any great respect for the teachers who let them off too easily. There are still many teachers who know how to be "tough" with pupils and make them like it.

Critics of the Old-Fashioned school claim that it was too rigid and dictatorial both in teaching and in discipline. It was examination-ridden. They feel it was not fair for a pupil's promotion to depend solely on the result of a final formal examination imposed by a Department of Education or other outside authority. Surely, they say, his year's work should count for something. Certainly this school paid too little attention to differences between individual pupils and smacked too much of the drill-master.

Another complaint is that the teachers did not have enough freedom to teach what they desired. Again, the school programme was too bookish and there was too much stress on memory and parrot-like knowledge rather than on learning by doing.² A further charge is that physical education was neglected—even though the playing fields of many of these schools were assisting to produce "a strong mind in a strong body."

A NEW-FASHIONED SCHOOL

In a recent issue of *Time* magazine³ there appears a brief description of an extreme example of a New-Fashioned school by Ernie Hill, the internationally known correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News*. His son Jonathan was in one of these schools. Mr. Hill is reported as saying, "I once went to his school in New York. When I put my head in the door someone fired a book at me. All the kids were standing up screaming. The teacher was shouting and banging the desk. 'They're so spirited this morning' she told me outside, 'Their little personalities are expressing themselves. We do nothing to curb their ego.' When she went back into the classroom she was beamed by an orange." Would there be any relationship between this type of school and the widespread youthful vandalism reported from New York today?

In the new school emphasis is placed on the child. Schools must teach the child: the curriculum is largely incidental. And it is the whole child that must be instructed; not merely his intellect. His age and social development play a larger part in his annual promotion than does his academic achievement. He must learn by doing even if the doing is not of the calibre prescribed for his grade level.

Then, too, we are told that the child must not be frustrated; he must always be doing what he likes to do; and, he must always be doing something that is relatively easy for him. In the name of freedom the child is early encouraged to assume the rights and privileges of the adult.

All the new instruction must be done according to the book, i.e., accord-

²This practice of learning by doing is not new. Plato advocated it and Pestalozzi practised it long before Dewey was ever heard of. However, neither of them appeared to believe in learning by doing what you please.

³November 2, 1953, p. 42.

ing to what are lauded as scientifically developed principles and practices. The "experts" have developed a jargon all their own in an attempt to interpret these principles.

Critics of the New-Fashioned school claim that it places far too much emphasis on the child; so much so that he acquires an altogether too exalted conception of his own importance. They claim that he receives so much for so little effort on his part that he usually fails to attain a sound sense of true values: he expects too much for nothing; and he expects to make progress without hard work. This criticism is illustrated by the widespread attitude even of young people with high ability who are content just to "get by."

Unfortunately, deterioration of standard is also evident in the scope and evaluation of the matriculation course subjects themselves. In all but science the scope of the five major matriculation course subjects is lower today in Manitoba than it was before World War I and the evaluation is much less exacting. Before World War I a matriculation candidate who failed in more than two papers of a departmental examination was required to repeat his whole year. Today he is given credit for every paper on which he obtains 50 per cent or better. Fifty years ago, too, he wrote departmental examinations for all of Grades Eight to Twelve, inclusive.

Too much of the examining is cafeteria style with too little comprehensive testing of a whole year's work in a subject. As a result, too many pupils leave high school with a smattering of this and that in more or less watertight subject-matter compartments but with little in the way of a comprehensive knowledge by which they can interpret and cope with their environment. Should not some consideration be given to welding together matriculation course knowledge into what might be called "General Knowledge" with suitable testing thereof? This might include a check on the vocabulary level. Certainly, on the average, high-school pupils of today do not command a vocabulary comparable to that of students of pre-World War I days. One reason is that today they do not find time to read enough good literature.

The great variety of so-called extra-curricular activities which sometimes become more important than the curricular studies are cited as another undesirable feature of the New-Fashioned school. There is also, it is claimed, undue emphasis on student self-government. Sometimes it even goes so far as to place responsibility for school discipline in the hands of the high-school pupils themselves.

Then, too, to these critics the New-Fashioned school's claims that a child must not be frustrated, that he must always be doing what he likes to do, and that he must always be doing something that is easy for him, are sheer nonsense. To shield a child from all frustrations and to ensure that he is always doing what he likes to do are practically impossible and are not desirable anyway because life is full of frustrations and the child should have a reasonable amount of experience in coping with them.

The critics also emphasize that the self-centred individuals produced are very poor citizens for a democratic society. Fifty years ago the curriculum was in the centre of high-school attention. Now the child is in the centre. Would not be better to place some of the curriculum and some of the child in the centre, with an emphasis on service to the community? Young people should go forth with a will to serve society rather than just to exploit it.

THE MENACE OF THE EXPERTS

Many parents are wondering whether our schools are deteriorating. Since the answer to this question, especially with respect to the high schools, is somewhat complicated, they have tended, as is not unusual these days, to rely on the advice of the "experts." The advocates of the New-Fashioned schools have seized upon this opportunity. Armed with strings of degrees from teacher-training and other institutions and with a glib jargon which when critically analysed is seen to have very little that is new, they have infiltrated into key positions in school administration and teacher-training in ever increasing numbers. This is one of the most serious threats to educational standards and to training for good citizenship in our schools today. At the moment the general public may be somewhat aroused to this menace but usually such public awareness is short-lived. Unrelenting vigilance is therefore demanded of all who oppose these extremes.

But this may not be the worst of it. According to Dr. A. C. Krey, speaking about the United States, there are some critics who attribute sinister objectives to the more radical of these "experts." These critics feel that there has been a double conspiracy

first to separate the schools from the dominance by the academic faculty as distinguished from that of the colleges of education, then to use the public school system as an instrument of social revolution. They [the "experts"] believed that our society was ripe for the success of such a conspiracy. . . .

During the early thirties, you may recall, a great many of our young intelligentsia went off the deep end, expecting the revolution any moment, while some others not so young were eager to be on the right side when that happened. The atmosphere was very favorable for purposeful radicals. The schools, of course, afford one very vital—perhaps the most vital—channel for social propaganda. . . .

This radical element also sensed opportunity in the progress of the reorganization of education by scientific research. . . .⁴

These quotations are given here not with the thought that Canadian schools have been in great danger but rather as a reminder of what might be. By reason of its centralized control a state monopoly in education is exceptionally vulnerable to such hi-jacking, and particular care must be

⁴A. C. Krey, Chairman of the Department of History, University of Minnesota, as reported in the *Proceedings of the Forty-Eighth Annual Convention of the Manitoba Educational Association*, in Winnipeg, April 7, 1953, pp. 6, 7. (Please note that these statements are not quoted as Dr. Krey's own opinions.)

exercised to prevent any special interest or movement from taking over control of the publicly supported school system.

AN EFFICIENT SCHOOL OF TODAY

As everyone knows, the teacher is the keystone of a good school and teachers are born rather than made. It is the teacher who must provide the instructional efficiency which is the most vital responsibility of any school.

Any attempt to evaluate the instructional efficiency of a school is a highly subjective process which will vary somewhat according to the personal views of the evaluators. Yet there are some very definite landmarks to follow especially in a high school. First, an efficient school must impart the knowledge prescribed in the curriculum. In the traditional high school subjects⁵ there are check-lists and patterns of knowledge which can be utilized by the evaluator. He must, of course, judge whether it is knowledge that is being imparted or information to be received like a parrot. In the high school considerable emphasis must be placed on logical rather than rote memory, though the latter is not by any means to be discarded. Second, an efficient school must inculcate functional skills: scholastic, manual, and those of routine behaviour. Please note that they must be functional. It is here that some of today's schools are particularly at fault. Skills require perseverance and hard work. Language and mathematical skills, for example, cannot be acquired by intuition. Third, an efficient school must instil healthy attitudes of mind towards moral, social, and economic problems. Pupils must appreciate the difference between liberty and licence; that they do not get something for nothing, and that they cannot safely sail under false colours.

To be able to accomplish these three objectives an efficient school must make skilful use of the three chief laws of learning: *Readiness*, *Repetition*, and *Effect*.⁶ Among the principal ingredients of *Readiness* are: Interest; Ability; and Foundation (e.g., in Mathematics). *Repetition* develops perseverance and the will to achieve. Perhaps it was undue emphasis on the drill-master, rote memory type of Repetition which enabled some of the more recent theories of learning (e.g., making things easy) first to gain footholds in Canadian schools. The law of *Effect* means that it is desirable for the learner to derive satisfaction from his learning processes. It is common knowledge that the greatest satisfaction comes from solving a difficult rather than an easy problem.

There is neither time nor space to consider details of the teaching methods which apply these principles to the best advantage in the school but the above broad outline may serve to indicate some of the distinguish-

⁵Viz., English, Mathematics, History, Science, Foreign Languages, and of course Health and Physical Education.

⁶E. L. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology*, Briefer Course (New York: Columbia University Press, 1925), chap. vi as discussed by Peter Sandiford, *Educational Psychology* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1930), pp. 196-201.

ing characteristics of an efficient school. In passing it is safe to say that the high school teacher is experiencing progressively greater difficulty in being able to snare enough time and attention from his pupils to do the fundamental work of the school. After all, there are still only twenty-four hours in the day and one of the curses of our times is the pressure under which most of us live. This is becoming more and more cumulative and is commencing even before adolescence.

This outline will also suggest that today's model of an efficient high school leans towards the Old-Fashioned type but has a tendency to include new theories and practices which have demonstrated their merit. However, they must not prevent the school from carrying out its responsibility.

SOME PROBLEMS OF TODAY'S SCHOOLS

Under the stresses and strains of modern living the home has been inclined to transfer many of its responsibilities to the school but there is a limit to the amount the school can assume without a detrimental effect on its efficiency in carrying out its own fundamental duties. As a matter of fact many schools already have passed their limit in this respect. It is, for example, no part of the responsibility of the publicly supported school to produce such phenomena as singing "stars" or athletic "stars." Usually where this is done far too much emphasis is placed on this type of achievement as compared with scholastic achievement. How often, for example, does the pupil who achieves 100 per cent in, say, Algebra make the newspaper headlines compared with the pupil who tops an athletic meet or wins a Rose Bowl singing competition? More insidious still is the fact that teachers sometimes receive promotions for results in these more spectacular types of activities over the heads of those doing the fundamental day-to-day work of the school. Surely parents should take some responsibility if they wish their children to develop into "stars"; if they cannot afford the expense, it would be much more economical to provide scholarships to assist these children rather than disrupt the fundamental activities of all the other pupils.

In too many cases the home also expects the school to take more than its share of responsibility for the good behaviour of the child. Here again some of the new theories in education tend to complicate matters for the school. Nowadays when a problem of discipline arises between a pupil and a teacher it is becoming the practice in far too many cases for the principal and the school superintendent and even the school board to act as if the pupil is always right and the teacher always wrong. Some teachers strive to avoid meeting a parent with his problem child in the principal's office because they tend to find themselves treated as the defendants.

A great deal is heard today of the theory that since the great majority of high school graduates do not proceed to university, the matriculation pattern of subjects and the matriculation standard should be scrapped and replaced by more "practical" courses. This point of view overlooks

the fact that the experience of centuries evolved the matriculation pattern as a satisfactory background for an understanding of the heritage of the race.

In Manitoba, too, as well as elsewhere in Canada only the matriculation type of course is available in most of the smaller high schools. Contrary to what some of the parents concerned think, this is not as great a handicap as it may, at a first glance, seem. The pupils in these smaller high schools are at least getting the type of course which is more useful not only as a preparation for intelligent citizenship, but also as a background for better vocational training. This is indicated by the fact that most business colleges and vocational schools prefer students who have first completed the regular matriculation type of course. So also do some of the professional faculties in the universities. So also, of late years, do many large commercial and industrial concerns. Above all, pupils taking this type of course are better prepared to live a life.

Problems are latent too in the fact that today too many pupils enter the high school who cannot analyse a sentence or parse it. Worse still, too many of them cannot write a satisfactory sentence, to say nothing of a paragraph, and their command of the mechanics of composition leaves much to be desired. The same is true with respect to the mechanics of vulgar fractions, decimal fractions, percentage, and simple mensuration. And these are but examples of weaknesses. It is evident that there definitely has been less emphasis on the hard work and perseverance necessary to inculcate functional skills.⁷ Hence one of the greatest obstacles facing the high schools today: far too many of their pupils have not learned how to read and study effectively.

This somewhat adverse assessment of results produced by today's schools is not meant to imply that the great majority of their pupils are not turning in a very good record of performance. It does mean, however, that a much larger proportion, as compared with pupils of the schools of some fifty years ago, are falling by the wayside so far as achievement in the junior matriculation course is concerned.

The argument that there is a larger proportion of pupils in high school today who cannot or will not accomplish matriculation courses is really not as valid as it sounds. In most cases it is not the ability of the pupil that is the real handicap but rather the mass-production characteristics of today's schools, together with the tendency of both teachers and pupils to follow the line of least resistance and favour less exacting courses. If some of the money and attention which are now lavished on extra-curricular

⁷Some of the official provincial programmes of studies tend to encourage this trend. On page 29 of the official Manitoba *General Introduction to the Junior High School Grades*, issued in 1947, and still in effect, a paragraph in italics reads: "The junior high school teacher should resist the demands frequently made by the senior high schools that he neglect entirely the broad cultural phases of a subject and spend his time on formal drill which has value mainly as a preparation for senior high school." It might be added that Manitoba has no monopoly of this point of view.

activities and on technical-vocational courses were spent on reducing the mass-production features of today's schools and providing some prodding and special assistance for the laggard, most of the adolescents, excepting perhaps those who *must* find employment, could and would complete matriculation type courses. They would thereby secure the background of a liberal education, and would be much better prepared for citizenship in a democratic society. In short, more attention and money should be devoted to retrieving pupils for the matriculation course. Selected classes and classes half the present size would be steps in this direction. And there are many other such steps.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Dispersed throughout this paper are sundry recommendations for the improvement of today's schools. Some of these are collected here for ready reference.

Directed towards the Home

Parents and pupils still need to realize that life is a struggle for existence and that hard work in school is essential for satisfactory progress and survival.

Parents and pupils need to realize that in the school the teacher is *in loco parentis* and that section 63 of the Canadian Criminal Code, and the judicial decisions based thereon,⁸ give the teacher the authority to function in this capacity.

Parents and pupils need to realize that there is no royal road to knowledge and that they do not get much for nothing.

Parents need to realize that although the whole child goes to school the school cannot take care of the whole child: the home must not carry less than its full responsibility.

Parents should refrain from criticizing the school in front of the children. The child profits most from the school when he goes there expecting to do what the school wants him to do.

Directed towards the School

Teachers and principals must avoid the cafeteria style of evaluating which tends to reduce standards; it should be eliminated from qualifying examinations. Cafeteria testing results in such features as exemption from examination in subjects in which a candidate secures 50 per cent or higher and less than comprehensive final examinations.

The school should insist that instructional efficiency in formal education is its fundamental responsibility and it should resist all efforts of the home, or any other agency, to compel it to assume other duties which hinder the execution of this fundamental responsibility.

⁸For example: *Rex v. Metcalfe*, [1927] 3 W.W.R. 194 *et seq.*; *Campeau v. The King*, (1951) 103 C.C.C. 355-64.

The school should insist that it is not its responsibility to produce "stars" at the expense of the taxpayer and/or at the risk of achieving less than the greatest good of the greatest number of the pupils.

Principals and school administrators should try to reduce newspaper publicity on extra-curricular activities by three quarters and to quadruple publicity for scholastic achievement.

Principals and teachers should see that attention in the school is given largely to the curriculum and in a reasonable amount to the child, and that the emphasis is on service to the community. The present practice of centring attention on the child tends to produce self-centred citizens who are inclined to exploit the community rather than to serve it. This is a poor variety of citizenship.

Directed to the Attention of Both Home and School

Home and School should combine forces to oppose any further inroads on the content and standards of the time-tested matriculation course. Of late years the new-fashioned theories in education have tended to place the matriculation course on the defensive. Now may be the time when the best defence is a strong attack. Business and industry are now discovering the need for a broad educational background in their employees. Whereas fifty years ago many of these concerns in effect hung out a sign "No university graduates need apply," they are today employing young Arts graduates as "executive trainees."

Home and School should combine forces to see that more money and effort are spent on retrieving pupils for the matriculation course rather than facilitating their pathway to other courses.

Home and School should ascertain whether today's high school text-books would not be just as efficient if fewer illustrations were included. Without these illustrations text-books could be much less costly.

School discipline will be much more effective if parents, principals, superintendents, and school boards lean towards the assumption that the teacher is usually right and the pupil usually wrong in clashes over behaviour. There are of course exceptions which must be considered.

Home and School should combine forces to help the pupils to cope with the great variety of distractions which bombard them from all sides. They should be assisted to use their time to the best advantage and one feature of their leisure time should be more reading of good literature than they are currently doing.

Continuing vigilance is necessary to ensure that the "experts" do not utilize the schools to carry out social revolution or to propagate any particular "ism."



First Principles*

By N. A. M. MacKENZIE, F.R.S.C.

FIRST may I join with others in congratulating Section II of the Royal Society upon its decision to include in this year's programme a discussion on Dr. Hilda Neatby's book *So Little for the Mind*, and more generally the current controversy about our educational system or systems. This topic is one of the most important that any group could discuss, and it is particularly appropriate and desirable for those of us who have given our lives to education in one form or another.

For a variety of reasons I do not propose to say much about Dr. Neatby's book except to express the opinion that I am in whole-hearted agreement with what I believe to be her desire and intention, that is, to remedy some of the weaknesses and defects in, and to improve, the education that we do provide for all of our young people. I have found the book interesting and stimulating and I hope that every member of the Learned Societies, and for that matter everyone in Canada interested in education, buys a copy of it and reads it.

However, I feel that it may be more useful, in view of the other papers and the nature of this audience, if I approach the topic of the current controversy in education in a rather general way, and in a way that may have some direct application to the group that we represent—those in higher education in Canada.

At the outset I would like to remind you that "education" is a very broad subject and is not limited to what we learn in school or college. It includes all of the influences, forces, and factors which affect human beings, which shape and mould and change them, and which make them into what they are or may become. One of the weaknesses in most of our current discussions about education is that we tend to overlook this and to concentrate instead upon the schools, the departments of education, or one or other of the other agencies which have a direct or indirect responsibility for the kind of people we are. This broad meaning of "education" is increasingly applicable in our time and our society because of the influences of the mass media, of advertising, and the general social atmosphere in which we live and work. Our schools and colleges are part of our society and inevitably are influenced by and reflect it.

There are a number of points that I would like to raise which I believe are relevant to this group—the members of Section II of the Royal Society.

*Part of a symposium—"So Little for the Mind." See also papers by Frank H. Underhill, Andrew Moore, F. E. L. Priestley.

Most of us are middle-aged to elderly and are the product of the schools before the days of "progressive" education. Few of us, I suspect, have spent much time in our schools since we left them as children, and have little first-hand knowledge of what they do, how they do it, and the special problems which confront them. Certainly I myself have not had the time or the opportunity to pay frequent and extended visits to our schools, and I am always reluctant to express dogmatic opinions about a situation when I have not made a thorough and careful study of it. Traditionally, too, it is the custom of elderly folk to take a "dim view" of the younger generation, to feel that things were better done when they were young, and to resent the changes which the young are almost certain to make or to show an interest in. It is just as inevitable that the young will want to do things in their own way, and though they may not be able to escape from the bonds of tradition which fetter all human beings, they will at least try to rid themselves of the particular fetters, the customs, practices, ways of doing things, of their own elders.

As a matter of fact many of the schools that we went to were not schools to be proud of, save perhaps in the sense of the devoted men and women who served them as teachers. I think, for example, of the school which I attended in a small coal-mining community in Nova Scotia. It had about it many things that were anything but desirable or attractive in terms of the education of the young. Later, in another community, one of my sisters newly out of high school, was paid about \$400 a year to teach between fifty and sixty children in grades that ran all the way from Grade I to junior matriculation, and all necessarily in the one room together. Too often our resentment of the defects in our schools today makes us ignore or forget the faults and the failings of the schools which we attended.

Most of us, I suspect, being human, would like to shape and mould others in our own images. We like them to accept our points of view, to agree with us, and to become the kind of ideal persons which we have set up as our goals or objectives, even though we may never have become this kind of person ourselves. Those of us who are scholars and who are engaged in academic pursuits will, of course, attach more importance to scholarship and mental activity and ability than do some others in our society.

More of us now live in urban, industrialized communities and our homes and our churches, regrettably, play a less important role in the life of the young than was true of a generation or two ago when our country was predominantly rural and when industrialization was not particularly important. One result of this is that additional burdens and duties have been imposed on the schools and the teachers, leaving them with less time to carry out what we consider to be their primary functions. This may be mistaken policy, but the fact is that the health and welfare of the young is important, is related to their intellectual training and life, and someone or some institutions must be concerned with these things. Until society

devises other and more appropriate ways of doing it, our schools and our teachers will be expected and required to share in this work. Education, in part at least, is preparation for participation in society and in life. The ideals, the needs, the objectives of our society tend to determine the general character and quality of our education. There is little evidence that our society really believes in or is willing to pay the price for some of the objectives which we, as educators, support and which society itself professes to desire; for example, the development of individuality, or the acceptance of the discipline necessary to achieve certain professed ends. Our society tends in some ways rather to create and develop a mass mind which responds in more or less the same ways to the same kind of stimuli. This is perhaps most evident in our advertising and in the importance of mass acceptance of the programmes which come over the radio, television, and the rest.

Generally, as parents and as educators, we are dissatisfied with our educational efforts and systems. We would like to do better and we believe that we can. This in itself is a healthy state of affairs, provided that we are realistic in our demands and criticisms. Despite this dissatisfaction and despite a frequently expressed opinion that education today in the schools is inferior to that of the past, I claim that our young people are in many respects as a total group superior to those of our own generation and of the generations which preceded us. I believe that we know a lot more about health and welfare, and a little more about human beings than our fathers did, and I believe that we are passing on the results of this knowledge to our children. Despite the shortcomings of our young people today, which I would be the first to admit, it is my opinion that they are healthier, more alert, and probably know more about the world they live in than we did at their age. This belief is in part based upon my own experience as a member of the generation which served in the armed forces of Canada in World War I, compared with the impressions I have formed of the large numbers of veterans who came back to our universities at the end of World War II.

The faults—and there are faults—in our schools and in our educational system are not the fault or responsibility of any one man or group of men. The cause is much deeper and more complex. It is part of and grows out of the changing nature of our contemporary society and the divided nature of our world. Cynical or sarcastic criticism of the schools will not achieve much that is constructive and it may further reduce the number of “good” people who are willing to become or remain teachers. Nevertheless, we in the universities must accept some of the responsibility for an unsatisfactory state of affairs. Many of the educational authorities and administrators are our graduates. Few of us have concerned ourselves in a serious or practical way with “education.” Canadian universities have not provided the graduate or professional training in this field that they have done for the other professions. The profession itself is a difficult and peculiar one. Teaching successive generations of children material that is not intellectually chal-

lingering creates a major problem in terms of retaining the interest and the services of creative and mentally alert individuals. Many of our teachers are high school girls with necessarily limited experience, education, or training, and a great many of them teach only for a year or two while waiting for marriage. All these factors may be inevitable in the circumstances but those of us who criticize the schools should not overlook them, or ignore them. Our criticism of the emphasis in the normal schools and colleges of education upon how to teach as contrasted with the "content" or what to teach, ill becomes a group with as little formal training in the art of how to teach as we have.

I believe that no one can be a good teacher unless he knows his subject thoroughly and is keenly interested in it, but in addition I believe that when one lectures one should be heard. I believe there is value in prepared organization of one's material for teaching and I believe most of us at the universities could learn a great deal about these and other practical aspects of our trade or profession from first-rate teachers with a long and varied experience.

And finally, in respect of this part of my address, while I agree with the necessity for stressing the importance of the training of the mind and of the intellect and of reason, it is impossible and unrealistic to overlook or ignore the tremendous place that the emotions play in human life and activity. I am inclined to feel that we as teachers know too little about this, about the interrelation between the intellect and the emotions, or about the training and disciplining of the emotions.

And now for a few constructive suggestions. I propose that all of us who are interested in "education" should visit our schools at frequent intervals, should spend some time in them, and should learn at first hand something about their special and difficult problems. We should meet frequently with those responsible for formal education at the school level and should discuss with them their and our problems. We in our own institutions should give more time and attention to the departments or schools of education which we operate and control, particularly with a view to sharing in the teaching of the prospective teachers. We should be concerned about the appointments to the staffs of these departments, about the making available and compulsory to the students in them of "sound courses" in the humanities and the liberal arts. We should help these departments to recruit some of the best of our students for the teaching profession and not jealously preserve them for our own particular disciplines. We should develop graduate training in education in Canada and should insist that this graduate training be as rigorous and as adequately served as that in any other department or faculty, even those favoured areas of science and medicine. We should try to ensure that the members of the teaching staff in our departments of education are chosen from a variety of sources and from individuals with different and stimulating backgrounds and experi-

ences. We should conduct a careful but sympathetic inquiry into the quality and relative adequacy of the degree or credit work given in our summer schools and through other non-residential schemes. I believe that these, our summer schools, are most valuable and useful, but I do not believe that those who attend them get as much of real educational value out of their experience as do the more privileged individuals who spend four or more years in residence in a good university. Education consists not only of textbooks and lectures alone, but also of the varied and stimulating experiences and contacts which association with large numbers of others carries with it.

Then within the teaching profession in the schools, I would query the effect which the policy of "seniority," and the "trade union" pattern and practices in vogue, have upon the unusually bright or able. I realize that the teachers' federations have made a great contribution to the welfare of the profession, but I believe too that there must be due recognition of ability and intelligence if the profession is to attract and retain some of the best of the young people who come to the universities.

I am increasingly convinced of the importance of the quality of the individual "teacher" in this area of education. A good teacher will produce desirable results regardless of the curriculum or the facilities or the nature of the course taught. And again I base this opinion upon my own experience as a student, and an administrator.

And now one or two additional queries and general suggestions before I conclude. My first question is: "How much do we really know about how to 'train the mind' in any certain and precise sense?" Here I speak as a parent as well as the head of a university through which pass every year several thousands of students. Frankly I must admit that I do not know why human beings behave as they do; why in identical environments and circumstances they react in anything but identical ways; why some are eager, alert, and stimulated in certain circumstances, and others bored and "left cold" by it all.

Then there is the place of discipline, and the importance of forcing and requiring children to conform to certain attitudes and patterns of behaviour. I believe that discipline is necessary and desirable, but I also believe that self-discipline is far more important and far more lasting than discipline imposed from without. One of our most important educational objectives should and must be that of making it possible and acceptable to the young to discipline themselves for the achievement of desired and worthwhile objectives.

A good deal has been made of the desirability of a greater degree of selection and segregation in respect of those in the schools and of those who come on to the university. This emphasis grows in part out of an increasing birth-rate and the problems which large numbers present for all of us. As an ideal, I believe that every human being should be provided with the best and the maximum of education that he can profit by, or that will

benefit him, subject always to its being a type of education suited to his temperament, capacity and ambition, and subject to our capacity as a society to pay the costs which are involved.

There are obvious advantages, particularly from the point of view of the teacher, in the segregation of the good students from the poor, the able from the dull, but there are disadvantages too, for the world is made up of all kinds of people and there is much to be learned from contact with all of them. In any event it would make for an unhealthy state of affairs if the young through segregation were to acquire at an early age the kind of inferiority and superiority complexes which such segregation would result in. Personally I would prefer a natural process of selection in which the "good" students or the "academic" students, by reason of their interests, went on, at speeds appropriate to them, into the fields to which their abilities and interests carry them, while the others, in turn, followed their particular interests and reached their own levels of attainment.

Perhaps the most valuable and potent aspect in education is that of arousing the interest or of stimulating the curiosity of the student, and of introducing him to new and to fresh fields of learning and experience. This perhaps is the real and the lasting contribution which "progressive" education has made, and which is frequently contrasted by its supporters with the strict discipline which played such an important part in traditional education. I believe that we need the best of both of these methods or ideas.

There are only two other points that I would like to make. The first is the importance, in the kind of world we live in, of stressing the individual and individuality at all times. This to me is the supreme aim and objective of education: to provide the individual with the maximum opportunity for the development of himself, as an individual, in every aspect of his character and personality. And along with this goes the importance of "values," of ideals, and the willingness to accept social responsibility, of character, the importance of the ability to discriminate and to discern, and the importance too of wisdom and of goodness.

A few days ago I had the privilege of hearing Sir Archibald Nye tell something of his experience in Britain in World War II. His duties at that time brought him into contact with the men from many countries who held our fates in their hands and who were shaping the world for years to come. In those circumstances, he said, there was no dearth of men with unusual intellectual capacity and training, but he was increasingly aware as the years passed that those who really counted in the decisions that were being made were those of outstanding character and integrity. This, I too believe to be true, and that is why I believe that in this continuing debate about education we should not lose sight of the fundamentals which have to do with the total development of the individual and of his society.



Problems of a Three-Dimensional Education*

By F. E. L. PRIESTLEY, F.R.S.C.

WHENEVER we talk of the total educational process, we tend to fall naturally into geometrical metaphor: we provide "survey courses" which establish points of triangulation over a large area without penetrating below the surface; we counteract the superficiality of these by choosing a small area to be penetrated deeply, after the fashion of mining or boring. We tend to speak as if the total obtainable volume of education is a fixed constant, and as if our choice is to beat or spread it out thin over a large surface; to produce a smaller solid lump; or, at the other extreme, to provide a long thin rod of narrow area and great depth. The last we call "specialization." Our permanent problem, given a fixed three-dimensional volume to play with, is one of choice of final shape. The true education must retain the three dimensions, sacrificing neither breadth nor depth. Ideally, education should presumably be spherical—completely rounded. The best perhaps that we can hope to obtain is a mushroom shape, with a broad cap of reasonable thickness on top, and a stem of appreciable depth and some area as foundation.

At the present moment, those concerned with education are expressing what seem to be conflicting complaints: on the one hand, that students entering university have no thorough training in fundamentals, that their course of secondary education has been spread out in area until depth as a dimension has practically vanished; on the other, that graduates are trained in so narrow an area that they lack breadth, and in particular that students in the sciences or in the humanities have no knowledge of the other discipline. The two complaints are only apparently conflicting; they depend perhaps on related causes. The less thoroughly trained in fundamentals the students are when they enter university, the more narrow their training has to be in their special discipline; and the more superficial their general secondary education has been, the less possible it is to give it depth in three years. Underlying the whole problem is a single clear conflict: we cannot afford to have our specialists, scholars, or scientists less thoroughly specialized than those of other countries; nor can we afford to have our leading citizens intellectually narrow and parochial.

This has a good deal of the aspect of a genuine dilemma, and we should not expect a simple solution. It often appears in a deceptively simple form, however, by being put forward as a peculiarly modern problem, or by

*Part of a symposium—"So Little for the Mind." See also papers by Frank H. Underhill, Andrew Moore, N. A. M. MacKenzie.

being reduced to a simple separation of Science and the Humanities. The problem is made to appear modern by glib reference to Renaissance universality, with Leonardo as chief exhibit, and with quotation of Bacon's "I have taken all knowledge to be my province." The implication is that it was easy a few centuries ago to be master of all trades. But Leonardo is typical of the Renaissance only in the sense that he, more than others, realized the ideal of excellence in all the arts and sciences—certainly not in the sense that the streets or schools were full of Leonardos. And again, Bacon expresses an ideal aspiration, rather than an achievement; he took all knowledge for his province, and attempted a survey, but by no means grew equally familiar with all parts of its geography. Scientists have noted that he wrote of science like a Lord Chancellor; Professor Fulton Anderson's close examination of his philosophy suggests that as a philosopher Bacon's status might still be ruled good amateur. The one part of his work (apart from Shakespeare's plays) which has, I gather, been judged masterly is in what he knew best, the law and public affairs. It seems highly doubtful whether a mastery of all knowledge has been a feasible aim for anything but genius for a good many centuries. And in modern times, with knowledge expanding in all directions, exceptional minds can still come within reach of Bacon's versatility. Tennyson, for example, had not only a thorough knowledge of classical and English literature, but some familiarity with Continental and Oriental languages and literatures, and a knowledge of science as good as any man's in England. In our own day, A. N. Whitehead, with his wide range of mathematics, science, philosophy, history, and literature, could bear comparison, I think, with most Renaissance men, and even Macneile Dixon, in his Gifford Lectures, moves confidently among scientific and philosophical ideas, as well as literary ones. Almost any period in the last three centuries could offer examples of minds of great breadth and depth; equally, any period could provide examples of comparatively narrow specialization.

What is, I believe, a modern development is the increasing narrowness of this specialization for all but the exceptional. It is no longer a question of two disciplines, science and the humanities, becoming separated; separations are now common within the disciplines. The specialist in English literature is now sometimes as ignorant of philosophy or of other literatures as of science; a recent series of broadcasts by an astro-physicist revealed almost as much ignorance of other sciences as of philosophy and theology; almost every day brings evidence of the shaky grasp some scientists have of statistical methods. In short, it has become increasingly difficult during the last two centuries to acquire the knowledge of history, philosophy, theology, and various literatures necessary to a thorough and deep comprehension of the humanities, or of mathematics and the host of sciences necessary to a broad understanding of science. The astro-physicist, the histologist, the epidemiologist represent aims and methods widely separated, as do the philologist, the metaphysician, and the "new critic."

The first fact we must face then is, in my opinion, the impossibility of bridging all the gaps through an acquisition of the subject-matter of all studies. Few of us are ever likely to become experts in more than one field; we have more hope than confidence of mastering even one. This is not, however, as gloomy a conclusion as might appear.

For I would offer as the second fact that acquisition of subject-matter is not, and never has been, the sole or fundamental method of bridging the gaps and harmonizing divergent disciplines. The primary problem is not so much that of relating vast and different bodies of human knowledge (that is another problem) but of reconciling various modes of thought, various kinds of language, various types of structural patterns. The habits formed in the specialist by his own particular discipline become blinkers; the success he achieves in his own area by certain procedures, by certain intellectual approaches, gives to these procedures an aura of special validity, and it is difficult for him to believe that this validity is neither universal nor sole. The mathematician is tempted to believe that all science is trying to become mathematical, or even that all thought is; it is hard for him to believe that the empirical sciences are not immature, or that symbolic logic does not offer a great advance over poetry as use of language. It is likewise a temptation to the philosopher to judge philosophical poetry simply as philosophy, and to the historian to be simply concerned with the historical accuracy of a play or novel. And finally, there is a common tendency for the scientist to limit truth to scientific truth, and to assign to the arts the minor rôle of entertainment, while humanists for their part see science as arid, inhuman, and destructive of beauty. What is needed is some understanding of the aims and methods of other disciplines, an understanding full enough to bring with it a recognition of their validity. Literature, history, philosophy, and science are all attempts by the human mind to perceive or create an ordered pattern of the human experience, a pattern of meaning.

Each discipline seeks its own kind of pattern, and has its own criteria of validity. A good poem is as true as a scientific law; if it is read by generations of readers who recognize in it a real correspondence to their own experience, and particularly if it illuminates for readers the quality of their own experience, they rightly call the poem "true to life." Those of us trained in the humanities take all this for granted; we know why Arnold calls poetry "a criticism of life"; but those who, in Browning's phrase, think of poetry as "a substitute for a good cigar" would seek elsewhere, in psychologists' casebooks, in sociologists' statistics, for the "hard facts." For his part, the student of literature would be perhaps too ready to assert that the reality which psychologist and sociologist sought unsuccessfully was already fully presented in literature. This, it seems to me, constitutes the real problem; there is a failure of understanding of aims and methods, and a reluctance to grant validity as truth to the products of other studies.

This is not, I think, to be cured by mere acquaintance with the subject-

matter in other fields. Not long ago I heard a man who is presumably a physicist of some distinction announce that he "had been all through philosophy and there was nothing in it." The staggering *naïveté* and arrogant ignorance of this observation should not blind us to its significance. The speaker was merely saying with incautious honesty what others would have cloaked in diplomatic evasion; he had undoubtedly been exposed to some of the subject-matter of philosophy (which he had taken for the whole), and had either not seen what it was about, or at least not seen the point of it. There is no reason to believe that his experience was far from typical, or that he is less intelligent than most. His case could be paralleled by students in the humanities who have been induced (or compelled) to take an elementary course in science. It is doubtful how much is accomplished by having science students do one course in English literature, and students in the humanities do one course in an elementary science.

A good deal *might* be accomplished if the courses were properly designed and properly taught, and with this I approach my main suggestion. What dismays me most about the students I am called on to teach is not their comparative ignorance of subject-matter (although in this I do not rejoice), but their often superlative ignorance of what the subjects are about and for. They view science as a simple triumphal procession, marked by the erection of cairns inscribed Archimedes' Principle, Boyle's Law, Avogadro's Hypothesis, Newton's Laws of Motion, Ohm's Law, and so on. They have a neat simplified picture of Bohr's atom in their mind. Who Boyle was, what the main interests of science were in his day, why he was interested in the problems of gases, how he came to make his experiments, are questions that have never occurred to them. What sort of physical evidence has provided the foundation for the Bohr atom is also beyond their range. The kind of brilliant insight that scientists so often use, the imaginative fertility with which Joseph Priestley devised experiments using very simple apparatus, the intensely interesting history of the phlogiston theory, and of the rival theories of electricity, all these things which bring science to life as a great adventure of the human mind, and which reveal the various ways in which the scientific mind goes to work, are for them reduced to a tame pattern of discoveries, made Heaven knows how, and embodied in a dull procession of names and formulae.

History is similarly reduced. It has been given to them as fact, and they accept it as fact, and remain utterly incapable of separating fact and interpretation. As far as they know, there is only one interpretation, and that is the fact. How historians write history, where they get their material from, what sort of problems writing history poses, what sort of complex motivations produce historical actions, and above all, why history should be written, or studied—these again are questions that have never occurred to them. A suggestion that Dryden's analysis of the motives of Shaftesbury and the Exclusionists may be right disturbs them; that Dryden may be partly right and the Whig historians also partly right disturbs them still

more. Nor have they any idea how one would go about finding out further about men or events, apart from reading another secondary source.

Again, in their approach to literature, they see merely a body of material which is there because it is there. *Hamlet*, like Boyle's Law, is a *datum*. They have no notion where the text they are using came from, what its possible relation is to what Shakespeare wrote, who put in the divisions and stage directions, and why, what problems were involved in establishing the text, and what solutions have been offered. Still less can they conceive of Shakespeare sitting down to write the play, having in mind various possible ways of developing it; they find it painful to be forced to consider why he put in the cellarage scene. They readily understand why drama is written—to make money by entertaining; that Shakespeare had any further intention has again never occurred to them. Few of them have ever wondered why poets write poetry, or what they are getting at.

There are, of course, exceptions, and they provide our best students in all departments. What of the rest who come into honour courses? By the end of four years they have a much firmer understanding of their chosen discipline: the science student has learned the real aims and methods of science, the history student has learned the real aims and methods of history, and so on. But neither has as a rule learned much more of the aims and methods of the other disciplines, since this knowledge is acquired in advanced courses. A course in chemistry devoted to elementary qualitative or quantitative analysis does not go far towards making a student of literature understand the nature of science as an activity of the human mind. Nor does a single "literary types" course do much for the science student.

The kind of course which would be of most benefit in broadening the mind of the student in the humanities would be a special kind of history of science course, in which equal efforts were made on the one hand to convey the relation of developing scientific concepts to other areas of thought, and on the other to illustrate through particular pieces of scientific discovery the immediate quality of the problems, the kind of scientific resources currently available, and the imaginative attacks upon the problems made by the discoverers. Something of this last is well conveyed in Alfred Noyes's *The Torch-bearers*.

But whenever someone is rash enough to mention history of science a great outcry arises. The scientist insists that only a scientist knows enough science to give a course touching on science. The historians could with at least equal justice maintain that no one but a historian, trained in the techniques of historical research and writing, should be allowed to talk of history—but historians are tolerant of amateurs. The philosophers could make a similar claim; and I think it can fairly be said that, although there are distinguished exceptions, a good many scientists who attempt the history of science show as great an ignorance of history and philosophy as any historian could show of science. I believe it is no more necessary to

have been trained primarily in science than in history or philosophy; the kind of work needed could be done (and much has been done) either by scientists who have taken the trouble to train themselves in history and philosophy, or by historians or philosophers who have learned a good deal of the sciences.

The student in the humanities needs to be made aware of the relevance of science to those areas of human thought which enter into his own studies, and of the live and imaginative quality of the best scientific thought. The student of science, on the other hand, needs to be made aware that science is not the only reputable or rational mode of human thought, that science as a human enterprise is inseparable from other human thought, that science not only influences but is influenced by philosophical, aesthetic, and generally historical contexts. Much of this could be brought home to him through the same sort of course as suggested, but for a fuller understanding of other disciplines, he needs a course or courses which attempt by concrete examples to illustrate aims and methods. Miss Calkins' *Persistent Problems of Philosophy* perhaps makes an approach to what I have in mind; I should like to see books on Persistent Problems of History and of Literature which would be designed to bring out the fundamental aims of history and of literature, the kinds of techniques available, the main *genres*, the relation of history to philosophy and to science, and so on. It might be argued that the intentions I have set forth could be achieved by the right kind of approach in teaching the sort of "content" courses at present prescribed, and this may be so. All I would insist on is that my experience in reading examinations is that a good many unliterary students complete a course in literature without the faintest notion of why literature is written, and my scientific colleagues tell me much the same *mutatis mutandis* is true in their courses. It is difficult for a teacher not to take a great deal for granted, quite unconsciously, in his own subject; if he were giving a special kind of course designed to raise the questions he seldom thinks of because he has known the answers for many years, he might not be lecturing across a vast chasm of assumptions.

Whether these things can be done is of course a question beyond my power to answer, but I am convinced that something of the sort needs to be done. There is no conflict between science and the humanities once they are recognized for what they are: different, but equally valid and important activities of the human mind, both imaginative and adventurous, both rational, both seeking the meaning of man and his world. It was a complaint of the Romantic poets that science destroys the wonder of things. Science improperly taught and imperfectly understood does so; but properly taught and rightly understood it reveals and illuminates the wonder. It is the complaint of some that poetry ignores or distorts the truth of things; but if properly taught and rightly understood it too reveals and illuminates the truth.



Poetry as Knowledge

By F. H. ANDERSON, F.R.S.C.

THIS paper is designed as a brief historical prolegomenon to an epistemology of poetry. Its immediate purpose is to note some contentings which have been occasioned by the regarding of poetry as the possessor and conveyor, in some manner or degree, of the sort of truth which has been sought traditionally by and in the sciences.

We begin with Plato. This philosopher lived in a world in which poetry was everywhere. Poetry had shaped perception and reflection and provided dogma and discipline. One of Plato's major objectives was the education of the citizen in virtue. To reach this he turned to the *mimesis* of the choral dance. There he saw the source of both music and gymnastic. His music includes text, instrumental accompaniment, and gesture in rhythm. All three represent an identical object. Rhythm is native to the human organism, since man has in him both motion and perception of order in motion. At the level of organic habit music produces significant sequence, that is to say harmony. On entering the soul patterns of music become social conventions.

Having adopted poetry as an instrument of education, Plato went on to criticize the poets at every turn. They are blind leaders of the blind, the corrupters of young and old. They know nothing of logic, or of nature, or of psychologic functions; they mistake shadows for the substance of reality. Here Plato is saying in part that Homer and Hesiod wrote in an age when the sciences had not been determined; that contemporary poets fail to regard mathematical entities as the touchstone of truth; that the tragedians have not submitted themselves to a Socratic regimen.

Plato when a young man came under the influence of Socrates. As the latter's disciple he contended that we cannot know what is good in song and dance until we have discerned logically the Forms of temperance, courage, and justice. By this dictum he submitted poetry to a discipline from without and above. Never since its pronouncement has poetic criticism escaped the burden imposed by logico-ethical consequence.

In the middle of his literary career Plato succumbed to the spell of the Pythagoreans. They conceived of wisdom as an initiation into mathematical science. Plato came to regard mathematics as both a purification of mind and a means to attaining cognitive identity with a divine and changeless reality. He thereupon became an epistemological prophet and missionary. He surveyed poetic ritual and, as missionaries to primitive peoples in every age have been prone to do, he found its representations

both foolish and wicked. Homer and the tragedians he classified with the sophists. In explanation of this action Plato segregated severally four degrees of perception. The lowest of these is awareness of things through images. Next comes the recognition of particulars in use, not yet scientifically understood. Thirdly—and here the percipient passes from opinion to knowledge—there is a seeing through the particular to an underlying logical universal, through the inscribed triangle, for example, to triangularity. The universal, discerned by reason and not by sense, is the reality of which—in exemplification—the particular may be said to be an imitation or copy. In the fourth stage of cognition, which is knowledge proper, particulars are forgotten, universals are considered only as Forms, and the Forms are dialectically organized in a logically commensurable cosmos.

By this epistemological scale Plato assessed poetry, and placed it along with rhetoric in the lowest of the four divisions, that is, in the range of images. As image it became for him a kind of imitation of an imitation of the Form. In his view, then, poetic perception is not the cognition of virtues or of any other logically definable things; certainly poetry is not for him the specific means for presenting "ideal beauty" as some of his professed disciples have contended in travesty of his teaching. Beauty, in Plato's view, has nothing more to do with poetry than with a pot or a horse. *To kalon*, variously translated the beautiful, the fair, the fine, is exemplified by a shoe well made, a medicine properly mixed, a citizen who has attained virtue, in fine, by anything manifesting apt adjustment to function.

Inherent in Plato's doctrine of poetry are three contentions: first, the criterion of truth is the rule of logic. Secondly, the content of good poetry is mainly ethical in character. Thirdly, where the teachings of the poets are not scientific they are not educationally adequate. (It will be remembered that Plato applied scientific definition in the first instance to the realm of morals, and only in his later years to the physical world.) Plato seems to have continued until the end of his days in the opinion that while poetry can provide means to ordered behaviour, the citizen who acts under its influence and at the same time remains unaware of ethical science, through which alone poetry may be assigned its educational place and function, fails to attain distinctively human virtue.

One of Plato's pupils, Aristotle, deemed it possible to provide places for poetry and rhetoric as well as for mathematics and metaphysics within an embracing classification of knowledges. In aligning these knowledges he attempted to exercise what may be called, after Thomas Thorild, justice in the realm of literature. He proceeded on the assumption, as this Swedish critic would say, that "nothing is made for the sake of its faults, but for the sake of its merits," that everything is to be taken for what it is, and that each thing is to be judged according to its kind. Plato had erected a hierarchical scheme of knowledge and imposed an ascent through mathematics on the candidate for truth. Aristotle arranged his sciences in mutual independence and fixed their boundaries according to their respective subject-matters and axioms.

Plato described knowledge in terms appropriate to cognitive *content*; Aristotle undertook an examination of the *act* of cognition. In his explanation of this he distinguished and defined three concepts: sensation, phantasm or imagination, and reason. He found the distinctive instrument of scientific demonstration in reason ordered according to logical rule. He also admitted that not all knowledge admits of such demonstration. (In some of his writings, notably his *Ethics*, *Politics*, *Rhetoric*, and *Poetics*, he is disposed to conclude his discussions with ingenious illustrations of a kind which reveal the elusiveness of the subject-matter and leave the reader bent on logical consequence suspended somewhere between scientific demonstration and empirical record.) Aristotle classifies the sciences or knowledges according to three sorts: the theoretical, the practical, and the poetical or productive. The first sort includes physics or science of nature, mathematics, and natural theology or metaphysics. The respective subject-matters of these three manifest several kinds of abstraction. Their data are amenable to logical demonstration, and cannot be other than they are. This is not true of those of the practical sciences, such as ethics and politics, where the unpredictable in human conduct occasions deviation from principle. Metaphysics or theology has to do with Being as such. Its Being qua Being is, for Aristotle, convertible with Unity and Goodness; according to certain of his followers it is convertible with Truth and Beauty as well. These convertibles lie in a divine order. They transcend what belong to the lesser categories. They are not to be equated with comparable predicates in mathematics, ethics, or physics.

The arts and sciences which fall within the third main division of knowledge have to do with the making of things, of medicines, of pots, shoes, edibles, speeches, and poems. Aristotle treats of the last two of these products in his *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*. Following Plato, he describes poetry as representation in rhythmically coordinated *mimesis*. The poet, he says, depicts what is inevitable within the probable. Poetry thus has consequences, but its consequences are not those of a demonstrable science; they have the sort of inevitability which attends the dependence of the tragic hero on his dramatic circumstances. There is no presumption by the poet of a representation of nature as it is; rather the contrary holds. There is no moral implication in the downfall of the tragic hero, only a missing of the mark through *hamartia*, literally a bad shot. The *katharsis* induced in the audience by the tragedian is not ethical purification, but a restoration of balance in the organism and a release to biologically normal activity.

Aristotle accords poetry a distinctive status independent of that of either theology or ethics. In his *Metaphysics* he depicts the contemplative man, in his *Ethics* the moral man, in his *Poetics* the man of poetry. He himself does not, professedly at least, confuse the three portrayals. The subject-matters and the underlying axioms of the several sorts of knowledge are not held together by any common methodological bond. There is an object lesson here for those persons who are disposed to leap, burdened with a doctrine, from ethics, or psychology, or physiology, say, into aesthetics

or theology on the hypothetical assumption that if something holds in one area, something similar, or identical, may be concluded in another.

Closely associated by Aristotle with poetic is rhetoric. He sees in either an art of persuasion and enthrallment. Rhetoric he defines as "the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in any given subject." In his *Poetics* he refers the reader to his *Rhetoric* for a discussion of the subject "thought," which, he says, is manifest in whatever the characters of the drama bring about through speech. Rhetoric he again describes as both a counterpart and an offshoot of dialectic. Among its instruments are striking examples and the dialectical enthymeme or series of arguments. Dialectic is a sort of reasoned argument which has the form of logical demonstration but differs from it in a lack of foundation on established principles and—when used by the skilled rhetorician—can operate effectively through the concealment of ill-founded premises.

It was the fate of Aristotle's writings to fall into disuse while certain of his maxims passed into a rhetorical tradition. The followers of Isocrates, Cicero, Longinus, Quintilian, and the rest took over. Metaphysics became mixed with ethics and poetic and rhetoric with both. To add to the confusion, the subject-matter of metaphysics was equated with the dogmas of revelation. Poetry was summoned before the bar of ethico-theology. The temptations of Satan had been found in its lascivious images. The clergy bewailed their pleasure in its form and content. Poetry was defended on the evidence of its presenting moral and religious allegory. The things which Aristotle had sorted became as confused as they had been in the days of Homer.

Not least among the reasons for the encroachment of rhetoric on the arts and sciences was the invasion of the Mediterranean area by the barbarians of the North. These people required instruction. Grammar was employed in teaching them the Latin tongue and rhetoric for their training in the presentation of theological and ethical truths. Rhetoric included five parts: first, *inventio*, the finding of materials of discourse; secondly, *dispositio*, the arranging of these materials; thirdly, *elocutio*, the statement of thought in appropriate language, including embellishments; fourthly, *memoria*, the memorizing by the speaker of his statement; and fifthly, *actio* or *pronuntiatio*, the manner of delivery of the speech. The first three parts were deemed especially applicable to poetry, from which their illustrations and models were commonly taken.

In the development of a new education stress was laid on certain *artes* called liberal in contradistinction to those of a manual sort. These were grouped in a *trivium* and *quadrivium*. The latter, which contained the so-called mathematical sciences, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, was put to relatively little use. The *trivium*, which embraced grammar, rhetoric, and logic, in effect constituted formal education. It kept learning faintly alive through dark ages. Its influence was to persist long after the development of philosophic systems in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Rhetoric invaded the whole *trivium*. Grammarians taught rhetoric and rhetoricians incorporated by adaptation portions of the peripatetic logic within *inventio* and *dispositio*. Cicero and Tacitus had acknowledged poetic because of its contribution to rhetoric. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch too, merged the former with the latter discipline. Dante in his work *On the Vulgar Tongue* referred to poetry as "rhetorical fiction and feigned music." Ramus was in a long-established tradition when he called his mixed assortment of rules "dialectic," and Milton too when he debated whether to name the work which he had written, confessedly after the manner of Ramus, dialectic or logic. Ramus undertook to demonstrate the service of dialectic in explaining the works of poets, orators, and philosophers. Milton called his work a logic because, as he said, "by logic the whole art of reason is properly signified." Logic, he affirmed, has "two parts . . . the discovery (*inventio*) of reasons or arguments and the arrangement (*dispositio*) of them." It is one of "those organic arts which enable men to discourse and write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the fitted state of lofty, mean or low." It has been a study worthy of the schools of founders like Pythagoras, Plato, Isocrates, and Aristotle in which were reared many famous orators, poets, philosophers, and princes. Needless to say, Milton's dialectic, like that of Ramus, is a mixture of logic, rhetoric, and poetic. Its illustrations are taken indifferently from orators and poets.

The disciples of Ramus incorporated his precepts into manuals for instruction in literary interpretation and practice. The making of books on rhetoric continued to flourish. The writing and the orating of schoolboys, like the disputing of university candidates, remained under the domination of dialectical art.

Recent critics, notably Miss Tuve, see in English poetry of the late Renaissance a style dominated by a dialectic in which Ramus' distinctive interpretation of literary argument bulks large. By "argument" Ramus means any concept or word which has a place in discourse. Within his use of the term fall specifically substance, quality, and other logical categories as well as adjunct, opposite, similitude, and testimony—human and divine. It is contended that the "arguments" of Ramus appear in poetry in the guise of images, and as a consequence poems are filled with reasoned discourse in consonance with his dialectical rules. In Ramus' dialectic arguments are set for the most part in dichotomies; in Milton's they are generally interpreted as components of propositions rendered effective through the enthymeme or series of syllogisms. Critics like Howard and Duhamel discover in Milton's writings the exemplification of two sorts of logic, one Ramist and one Miltonic, the former commonly in his poetry, the latter in several of his prose works.

Literary historians who refuse to follow these critics all the way will hardly oppose the opinion that the separation of poetic analysis from the rules of rhetoric was a slow process. It began in the fourteenth century.

Aristotle had been discovered, and Plato too. When the break was made the ascendancy first of theology and then of ethics over poetic became the rule. Dante posed questions for his successors when he gave a polysemant interpretation of his *Paradise*. The work, he explained in 1319, might be said to have several meanings, the literal, the moral, the theological, the analogical. In 1364 Dante's biographer Boccaccio identified poetry with theology and called the latter the "poetry of God." More than two centuries later Guarni placed poetic imitation in a theological perspective of a Platonic sort. It was the design of the Creator, he reasoned, that man should "obtain nothing except by imitation." The creation itself was produced in conformity to the divine idea; the soul was made in the image of the Creator. Through the imitation which is poetry man learns the supreme object of human desire, his dearest delight, and the end for which he was made.

From reasoned theology Beauty entered poetic criticism in the role of a metaphysical transcendental. The term beauty had long been applied to excellent examples of the art of poetic statement. It now became an alternative to Truth and Goodness in describing Divine Reality. This transcendental Beauty was rarely to be related in precise and rigorous thinking to beauty in nature and art. Devices employed to this end—with much use of metaphor—up to the time of the New England Transcendentalists, and indeed until the present, have been analogy, imitation, degree, aspect, and grade of illumination.

Once poetry had been assigned theological offices it was deemed morally acceptable. The poets, said Trissino, combine instruction with pleasure for the improvement of mankind. Giraldo Cinthio construed the end of both comedy and tragedy as the production of good morals. In England, where moralizing was extremely pronounced, Thomas Elyot defended the poets against "the false opinion that now reigneth of them that supposeth that in their [works] is contained nothing but bawdry." Milton presented poetry as a trustworthy and persuasive teacher of rectitude to a puritan band who deemed her an unregenerate trollop. Bacon, Dennis, Corneille, Muratori, Leibniz, Kant, and countless others joined in her defence on ethical grounds. Brunetière struck a modern note when he argued, "If the function of art is not moral, it is social, which is just about the same thing." Its end is to foster a consciousness of human solidarity. In this contention Tolstoi and other "social" critics agreed for diverse reasons. The role assigned to poetry underwent a complete reversal. In the early days of the Church she was found a temptress. Puritan clergy in Renaissance times called her a harlot. After her defence by Dante, Milton, and others, she was admitted a servant in the ethico-theological train. By the time of Matthew Arnold she was deemed worthy to assume all the offices of morality and religion. Not a few modern pedagogues take her for a school-mistress whose office is the exhibiting of dramatic and other works of literary representation as ethical models.

Poetry, then, was rescued from age to age only to be put into moral servitude. Her rescue from her rescuers proved no easy undertaking. It was attempted in 1571 by Castelvetro, the translator of Aristotle's *Poetics*. Castelvetro cautioned his learned audience against entertaining the opinion, in opposition to Aristotle, that the office of poetry is to confer either benefit or a mixture of benefit and delight. Aristotle understands its end as delight alone; if he admits some profit from it, he grants this only by the way, as in the recognition of the purgation of terror by means of tragedy.

Shelley turned the tables on poetry's keepers when he declared that poetry acts in a "diviner manner" than ethics, because it "awakens and enlarges the mind . . . strengthens the faculty which is the organ of the moral nature of man in the same manner as exercise strengthens a limb." Diverse authors, led by James and Wilde, taught large sections of the public that "there is no such thing as a moral or an immoral book. Books are well written or badly written. That is all." In 1913 Croce summed up the case. "Art," he said, "is exempt from moral distinctions, not by any privilege of immunity, but because moral distinctions simply do not apply. An artist may imaginatively represent an act worthy of moral praise or blame; but his representation, being imagination, is worthy of neither. Not only can no penal code condemn an imaginative representation to death or to prison, but no reasonable man can make it the object of a moral judgment. To judge immoral Dante's Francesca, or moral Shakespeare's Cordelia, whose functions are purely artistic . . . would be no better than to judge a triangle wicked, or a square moral."¹

From the days of Plato there persisted the practice of identifying the content of poetry with scientific doctrine. During many centuries the sciences mainly concerned were natural theology, ethics, and politics. Later on conclusions reached in the physical sciences came to be deemed the proper communications of poets. The Italian Castelvetro protested against this practice in 1571 and the English Wordsworth in 1800. In England it went back to the days of Thomas Elyot who in 1540 defended the writings of Homer and Vergil with the argument that they were repositories of naturalistic truths. In 1624 the German Martin Opitz was denouncing the opinion that poetry "consists only in itself" and maintaining, with evidence adduced from Homer to Galen, that it "includes all the arts and sciences." The contending for a scientific content reached a climax in modern times when the Frenchman Zola predicted in 1893 that eventually poetry and the theatre will become exponents of physiology.

Recent writers among those commonly called "the modern critics" have invoked the concepts and doctrines of the sciences not in a literal fashion but rather for the purpose of elaborating schemes of symbolization. Their elaboration is largely the issue, far beyond what the original authors envisaged, of the work of psychologists of the unconscious, like Freud and

¹A *Breviary of Aesthetics*; E. F. Carrith's translation in his *Philosophies of Beauty* (Oxford University Press, 1931).

Jung, of authorities on early ritual, like Jane Harrison, of investigators, like Caroline Spurgeon and Maud Bodkin, of the symbols in literature as respectively the expression of the personality of the poet and the expression of society in its attempt to bring to the level of self-consciousness its unconscious urges.

Some of these symbolic schematisms are of great consequence for poetic epistemology for the reason that they are elaborated in the thinking of persons who reject the logico-semanticist view of literary statement. Unavoidably taken—because of spatial considerations—out of complicated contexts, a few interpretations of two eminent critics, Kenneth Burke and William Empson, will furnish illustrations. It is Burke's contention that the vocabulary of poetry "will persistently outrage the norms of semantic ideals." The semanticist imposes the "elimination of a weighted vocabulary at the start (the neutralization of names containing attitudes, emotional predisposition)." The poetic ideal is attained "by exposure to the *maximum profusion* of weightings . . . stressing the role of the participant, who in the course of his participation, it is hoped, will define situations with sufficient realistic action to prepare an image for action." Poetic definition arises in a symbolic act. "Poetry, or any verbal act," says Burke, "is to be considered as 'symbolic action.'" In this conjunction "ritual drama" is to be regarded "as the Ur-form, the 'hub' with all other aspects of *human* action treated as spokes radiating from this hub."²

Empson goes even further in dissipating the logico-semanticist ideal. He contends that "ambiguity"—the things which the logicians call equivocation—is the distinguishing mark of telling poetic statement. In his *Seven Types of Ambiguity*³ he writes, "My seven types, so far as they are not merely a convenient framework, are intended as stages of advancing logic disorder." "A word," he explains, "may have several distinct meanings; several meanings connected with one another; several meanings which need one another to complete their meanings. . . . 'Ambiguity' itself means an indecision as to what you mean, an intention to mean several things, a probability that one or other or both of two things has been meant, and the fact that a statement has several meanings." A major reason, he says, why "ambiguity is more elaborate in poetry than in prose . . . seems to be that the presence of metre and rhyme, admittedly irrelevant to the straightforward process of conveying a statement, makes it seem sensible to diverge from the colloquial order of statement, and so imply several colloquial orders from which the statement has diverged." At the beginning of the work mentioned Empson elaborates an example of ambiguity in his "close reading" of a line of Shakespeare's *Bare, ruined choirs, where late the sweet birds sang*.

Ruined monastery choirs are places in which to sing, because they involve sitting in a row, because they are made of wood, are carved into knots and so forth, because they are surrounded by a sheltered building crystallised out of the likeness of a forest, and coloured with stained glass and painting like flowers and leaves, because they are now abandoned by all but the grey walls

²Kenneth Burke, *Philosophy of Literary Form* (Louisiana State University Press, 1941).

³London: Chatto and Windus, 1949.

coloured like the skies of winter, because the cold and Narcissistic charm suggested by choir-boys suits well with Shakespeare's feeling for the object of the Sonnets, and for various sociological and historical reasons (the protestant destruction of monasteries; fear of puritanism); which it would be hard now to trace out in their proportions; these reasons, and many more relating the simile to its place in the Sonnet, must all combine to give the line its beauty, and there is a sort of ambiguity in not knowing which of them to hold most clearly in mind. Clearly this is involved in such richness and heightening of effect, and the machinations of ambiguity are among the very roots of poetry.

Empson finds that seven sorts of ambiguity arise when respectively "a detail is effective in several ways at once," "two or more alternate meanings are fully resolved into one," "two apparently unconnected meanings are given simultaneously," "alternative meanings combine to make clear a complicated state of mind in the author," "the author is discovering the idea in the act of writing . . . or not holding it all in the mind at once," "what is said is contradictory or irrelevant and the reader is forced to invent interpretations," and when there is a "full contradiction, marking a division in the author's mind." The seventh sort is admittedly paradoxical; it is nevertheless inherent in human speech and human mentality—after Freud: witness, for example, such words as *altus*, which in Latin means both high and deep, and the English *let* which means both allow and hinder, and that condition of "emotional reverberation" when the human mind holds one thing in one part and wants something different in another.

Although he rejects the "logical" definition of terms, Empson is ready to employ the concepts of the "scientific" psychologist, economist, and sociologist to "explain" the symbolizing of his authors. An example of his use of Freudian psychology will illustrate his practice.⁴

To make the dream-story from which *Wonderland* was elaborated seem Freudian one has only to tell it. A fall through a deep hole into the secrets of Mother Earth produces a new enclosed soul wondering who it is, what will be its position in the world, and how it can get out. It is in a long low hall, from which it can get out to the fresh air and the fountains through a hole frighteningly too small . . . always when it is big it cannot get out and when it is small it is not allowed to; for one thing, being a little girl, it has no key. The nightmare theme of the birth-trauma . . . is not only used here but repeated more painfully after [Alice] seems to have got out. . . . In Dodgson's own drawing of Alice when cramped into the room with one foot up the chimney . . . she is obviously . . . in the foetus position. . . .

The symbolic completeness of Alice's experience is I think important. She runs the whole gamut; she is a father in getting down the hole, a foetus at the bottom, and can only be born by becoming a mother. . . . whether his mind played the trick of putting this into the story or not [the author] has the feelings that would correspond to it. . . . He is partly imagining himself as the girl child . . . partly as its father . . . partly as its lover—so it might be a mother—but then of course it is clever and detached enough to do everything for itself.

Of Burke's many and varied examples of "symbolic action" we take one

⁴*Some Versions of Pastoral* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1935).

from his *Philosophy of Literary Form*. This is a so-called "close reading" of the Duke's address to the musicians in *Twelfth Night*:

If music be the food of love, play on;
Give me excess of it, that, surfeiting,
The appetite may sicken, and so die.
That strain again! It had a dying fall;
O, it came o'er my ear like the sweet sound,
That breathes upon a bank of violets,
Stealing and giving odour!

Burke translates the first line: "If music be the food of love, play on," in this fashion: "As cells absorbing sunlight, as the fetus basking in its womb-heaven, *receiving* nutriment; not venturing forth aggressively, predaciously, as with those jungle animals that stalk, leap, and capture before they eat . . . but simply as larvae feed, let me take in gentle music. . . ." In the fourth line, "That strain again! It had a dying fall," he discerns the "carrying the blessedness of larval-feeding into that further stage of *stereotype* wherein humble things protect themselves by becoming *motionless*. See: they have no stouter defence than that—a mere rigidifying, a turning-off of the register, a method integral to such as might derive their scheme of happiness, not from a snatching of pulsant meat, but as a swimming in tepid water, a being-tubularly-fed from a manna-placenta. . . ."

On the presence of violets, Burke reflects that these "bloom in the emergent stages of the rutting season" and that "scent is a goad to more aggressive ways of thinking; to the nostrils there is wafted the promise of prey. No basking fetus now . . . but a huntsman. . . ." "So the Duke has gone complete from larval thought to the predatory." In the eight lines which follow those quoted, the Duke "has got to sheer diagnosis. Diagnosis is the 'aesthetic,' it is 'pure inquiry,' it is mere 'abstract interest' in things, 'tis 'idle curiosity,' arising from the primordial jungle hunt. . . ."

In this instance Burke has drawn on zoology for his symbols. Sometimes he employs sociology, economics, physiology, theology, and, most often, Freudian psychology in a modified form. (The works of Freud he finds "suggestive almost to the point of bewilderment.") For Burke every literary statement is symbolic. Symbolism is not neutral representation through scientific observation but participative action. "All symbolism can be treated as the ritualistic naming and changing of identity." Generally speaking,

rituals of change or "purification" center about three kinds of imagery: purification by ice, by fire, or by decay. "Ice" tends to emphasize castration and frigidity. . . . Purification by fire, "trial by fire," probably suggests "incest-awe". . . . Redemption by decay is symbolized in all variants of the sprouting seed, which arises in green newness out of filth and rot.

Rebirth is a process of socialization, since it is a ritual whereby the poet fits himself to accept necessities, suggested to him by the problems of the forensic. It will also, as regression, involve concern with the "womb-heaven" of

the embryo and with the "first revolution" which took place when the embryo developed to a point where its "shelter" became "confinement."

This involves "incest-awe". . . . It involves castration symbolism, connotations of the "neuter," by way of punishment for the symbolic offense. The "neuter" may also take on connotations of the "androgynous" because of the change of identity effected by the ritual.⁵

Speaking more specifically, works like the *Education of Henry Adams* are symbols of their authors' rebirth; *Murder in the Cathedral* is the ritual of Eliot's purification, and Milton's *Lycidas* his symbolic death as poet on his turning to the writing of prose for a score of years. Hume's denial of causal potency and Bentham's neutralization of concepts are symbolic representations of these writers' bachelor state. McDougall's social psychology, both integrative and dissociative, is an analogical projection of the British Empire. The vertigo of Darwin and the blindness of Joyce are symbolic self-punishments for the "impiety" of their literary works.

Among the issues of "modern criticism" are the demands for a settlement of the question whether poetic statement may in any sense or manner be put into a logical mould, the development of a view of symbols in independence of semanticist logic, the placing of ritual in the forefront of literary theory with the significant reiteration of the fact that poetry had its origin and achieved its form in ritual, and the questioning whether through an understanding of ritual and its symbols literary criticism can attain an autotelic status.

"Modern critics," in the main, are not concerned with the poet as instructor in morals or as giver of pleasure. They forgo questions of taste and ethical value. With them the trilogy Truth, Goodness, and Beauty recedes and becomes but slightly more than a phallic emblem or a symbol of the Holy Family. Some years since T. S. Eliot remarked that Keats' words "beauty is truth, truth beauty" meant nothing to him. I. A. Richards banished the term beauty from criticism. The question of truth in poetic theory has been complicated through the contention that the meaning of the symbol, when judged by logical standards, is equivocal. Writers like Richards and Burke have consigned it to the "rhetoric" of communication.

Platonists and Aristotelians had set the habit in perpetuity of assessing knowledge according to the requirements of a logic of demonstration appropriate to mathematics and physics. It was Philip Sidney who declared in rebellion, "I think truly, that of all writers under the sun the poet is the least liar." Sidney got no epistemological support. Mazzoni and Tasso argued about the status of poetic representation as the probable, the marvellous, and verisimilitude after the manner of Plato and Aristotle. Gravina and Vico simply made the poetic image the representation in sense and passion of the scientific universal. Muratori in his elaboration of a theory of the imagination remained within the confines of Aristotelian epistemology. Kant, in an afterthought, attempted to interpose an in-

⁵*Attitudes toward History* (New York: New Republic Press, 1937).

dependent world of art between the two realms of empirical science and ethics, and provided no more than a makeshift junction of the transcendental idea and the representation of sense. Hegel assigned poetry to a sphere in imaginary space and time, and then made it a moment in a dialectical movement of logical thought in process of attaining a higher synthesis.

Rebels continued in the belief that a subject when it enters poetry takes on a distinctive character, and is no longer subject to the rules governing scientific consequence; that poets when they treat of religious, moral, or metaphysical themes are not in any sense or degree writers of rational theology, systematic ethics, or demonstrated metaphysics. Philosophers like Croce and Collingwood gave support to this belief by refusing to recognize in the sphere of art the validity of the presuppositional distinctions of discursive logicians, such as appearance and reality, truth and falsehood. Recent symbolists have, in turn, supported their refusal. The concepts of poetry, they argue, are not logically definable. Its symbols may not be manipulated according to the formalities of logic. Its propositions admit of no contraries or contradictions. They are not alignable with logical precision in syllogistic continuity. They require no founding in the so-called first principles of Aristotelian logicians or in the postulates of the mathematical semanticists. They will not suffer divorce from the linguistic patterns in which they have their being. They cannot be stated in prose, logically formal or otherwise, without undergoing destruction.

Plato made reason the distinctive faculty of man and defined him as a rational animal. With greater aptness and precision, it is contended, man may be called an organism which functions through symbols. He has his cognitive activity in a symbolic domain and his mental life in a symbolic process. Within his cognitive world are science and poetry. Science makes reality accessible in impoverished form through ever increasing abstraction. Poetry presents it in concentration. The reality which the cognitive agent discovers is not homogeneous. Truth is not of one sort but of many kinds. The bond which unites the truths of art, science, and religion is the symbol. Symbols are not of one kind: they range in character from x^{nth} of the mathematician to the Cross of the man of faith.

Symbols are meanings shared and perpetuated in language; they are representations which take on meaning in patterns of discourse or of ritual. The poetic image is not a sensation, a feeling, a passion, or a thought, but a symbolization. The symbol is not to be regarded as a mere *eidolon* or as a photographic image, but as a representation of what previously has been presented as a sensuous image. In symbolization the image is given significance within ritualistic structure.

In the development of human knowledge the symbolizings of poetry, of science, and of religion have proceeded side by side. Through their independent developments man has come into the possession of his multiple cognitive heritage.

New Maps of Historic Sites in Nova Scotia

By H. L. CAMERON

Presented by WATSON KIRKCONNELL, F.R.S.C.

THE Nova Scotia-New Brunswick area, the Acadia of the French settlers, is rich in historic sites. The locations of some of the better known ones are given in the index map, Fig. 1. These include the Champlain Habitation near Lower Granville; Port Latour; Fort Anne at Annapolis; Grand Pré; Fort Edward, Windsor; Forts Beauséjour and Lawrence, in the Chignecto area; the Chignecto Drydock; the Fort at Canso; and Louisburg, Cape Breton Island. The maps to be described are new ones of Grand Pré and Louisburg, prepared by photogrammetric methods from aerial photographs taken by the Royal Canadian Air Force. It is hoped that



FIGURE 1.—Historic sites of Nova Scotia.

new photo coverage of the other sites will be obtained in the near future and be worked up into maps for the use of historians.

A brief historic sketch of the two sites may not be out of place at this point.

Grand Pré was the site of one of the largest of the Acadian settlements. Located on Minas Basin, in one of the most fertile regions of Nova Scotia, it was also one of the most important politically. After the mainland of Nova Scotia was ceded to England by France in 1713, the status of the Acadians became a very vexed question. Their continued refusal to take an oath of allegiance and their insurrectionist tendencies resulted in their

Old Louisburg. Photography by R.C.A.F. (C.E.P.E.),
1953. Plotted by H. L. Cameron. Scale, 1" = 750'.







FIGURE 2.—Vertical aerial photograph of Grand Pré area, Nova Scotia. Memorial Park to left and slightly below centre. Site of old Grand Pré village on slope to south of Park.

deportation, or expulsion, in 1755 when the Seven Years' War was impending. This event is very widely known from Longfellow's choice of it as a theme for his poem *Evangeline*. People would be astounded, by the way, at the seriousness with which this mythical heroine is regarded by modern Americans—I have seen many a feminine tear-drop near her statue (of heroic size, particularly the feet) and many a clenched fist among the males determined to avenge her sad fate!

The tide-swept marshes must have reminded the French of their own tidal meadows in Brittany and they began the long process of dike construction to win them from the sea. The expulsion occurred before the dikes reached Long Island and the extension was completed by the New England men who took over the land. One of the questions to be answered is, which dikes are Acadian and which New England in origin.

Louisburg was built by the French as a base and bastion against British seapower after the loss of the mainland of Nova Scotia in 1713. It was captured first in 1745 by a New England expedition under Sir William Pepperell, after a siege rendered absolute by the British Fleet. Given back to France by treaty, it was taken again in 1758 by an expedition under General Amherst, and later razed to the ground in order to prevent it ever being used for its avowed purpose of preserving French power in North America. The engineer who carried out the work of destruction did an extremely thorough job, as the present state of the site bears eloquent witness.

Several years ago it was noted that the old dikes at Grand Pré showed clearly in R.C.A.F. vertical aerial photographs of the area, taken for purposes of air survey. Stereoscopic examination revealed an elaborate system of old dikes within the present operating dikes, and it occurred to the writer that if these were mapped, an historic sequence could be worked out going back eventually to the first French enclosure. A map was prepared by photo-



FIGURE 3.—Map of Grand Pré area, showing old dikes (dotted line) within present operating dikes (heavy solid line). Plotted by H. L. Cameron. Scale 1" = 2660'.

grammetric methods and all visible dikes were located on it. In Fig. 2 one aerial photograph is reproduced showing the location of the village of Grand Pré on the hillside slope above the diked lands. The Memorial Park stands within what appears to have been the first dike enclosure of the Acadians. Several sections of old dike are clearly visible in the photograph, but are undetectable on the ground without the photo as a guide, as they are ridges not over two feet high, much reduced by successive plowings. This is probably the most important fact with regard to the present work: the aerial photographs reveal detail which is invisible, or nearly so, on the ground, and provide a rapid and easy means of mapping these details. The map is given in Fig. 3, and though it does provide much information, it is hoped to obtain new large-scale coverage, including infra-red, similar to that obtained at Louisburg. These new photos may yield even more information, particularly on the site of the village of Grand Pré.

In May, 1953, a detachment of the R.C.A.F. Central Experimental and Proving Establishment came to Nova Scotia to carry out experimental aerial photography in the Strait of Canso area. As an experiment, they also obtained very complete photo coverage of the site of the old city of Louisburg, Cape Breton. This included conventional vertical black and white coverage at a scale of $1'' = 500'$ for control, and black and white Sonné (continuous strip) at $1'' = 100'$ for detail. It is of interest that this is one of the first attempts anywhere to obtain Sonné coverage of an area by laterally overlapping strips. Infra-red photos at a scale of $1'' = 250'$ were also taken and revealed one of the few unique details obtained: the buried stone walk believed to have been part of the Governor's Garden.

Fig. 4 is a reproduction of one of the Sonné strips showing the present Museum building, the Parade, and the Citadel, with the Parade and the

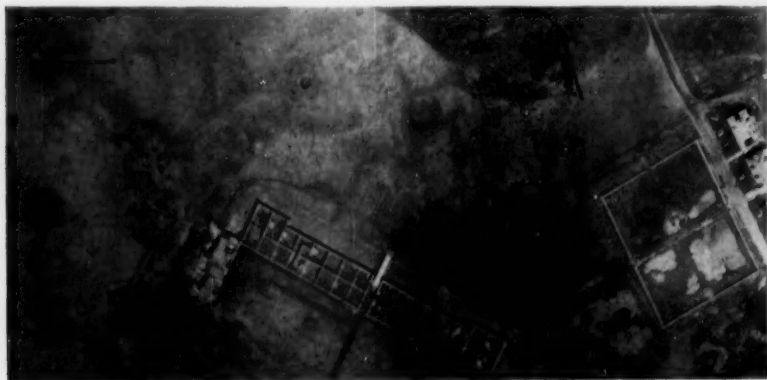


FIGURE 4.—Old Louisburg, Sonné aerial photograph, showing Citadel (foundation restored), Parade, and Museum. Note that wall of Parade ground has not been restored in its proper position. Annulus (flagstone walk ?) near northwest corner of Parade does not show in this low-level large-scale photograph; compare with Fig. 5, an infra-red photograph of the same area. R.C.A.F. photograph, original scale, $1'' = 100'$.

Citadel having been partly restored. The old anchors beside the Museum were found at various times by the anchors of more modern ships. Though not revealed by the aerial photos, it is of interest that these anchors are built up of pieces of iron, no larger than a man's forearm, hand welded together. It is a reminder that only in the last hundred years has man been able to handle the large masses of metal which make our present mechanical civilization possible.

One of the infra-red photographs is reproduced in Fig. 5. It reveals many details of the buried foundations and other stone work and is par-



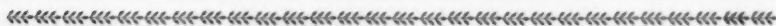
FIGURE 5.—Old Louisburg, infra-red aerial photograph, showing Citadel (foundation restored), Parade, and Museum. Annulus (flagstone walk ?) near northwest corner of Parade shows clearly.

ticularly interesting for the ring or annulus revealed just to the northwest of the Parade. Some circumspect digging has revealed trimmed flat stones, and it is believed that this annulus is the trace of the circular garden walk, located in the Governor's garden.

From all the photo coverage a new map was prepared giving the main features of the existing ruins (see map following p. 60). Points of interest are the old street lines and some of the outworks connecting the ramparts to Black Point. These latter were constructed during the initial stages of the last siege in 1758.

Outside the actual fortress city area items observed include: old foundation just outside the ramparts; homestead sites along the harbour front; and the Royal Battery commanding the harbour channel. The homestead sites may prove of value in obtaining further relics of the Acadian time, if the household refuse dumps can be located. It is hoped that some excavation may be undertaken at one or another of these homesteads.

In conclusion, the work presented here is only a beginning. If complete air photo coverage of all historic sites in the Acadian area can be obtained it will form a solid basis for further study and eventual restoration. The writer is happy to report that a submission for such photo coverage has been made to the National Parks Branch, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, who in turn are planning a request to the R.C.A.F. to carry out the work, as they are the only ones in Canada possessing the necessary equipment and training. The writer would most earnestly solicit the support, both moral and otherwise, of this Society in this work. In this way it may be possible to arouse the interest of historians in the actual sites of so many stirring events and thus extend the correlation between written records and artifacts.



The Frontier and Democratic Theory

By S. D. CLARK, F.R.S.C.

IMPLICIT in much of the writing on Canadian political history has been the assumption that an entirely different set of forces have shaped the development of democratic institutions in this country than in the United States. Whether because Canada learnt from the political experience of nineteenth- rather than eighteenth-century Britain, or because the tradition of the country has been more British, Canadians have been thought less inclined than their neighbours across the border to experiment with radical political solutions to their problems. Rather, they have sought through an orderly process to adapt their political institutions to changing circumstances. Thus the distinctive Canadian contribution to the development of democratic political organization has been considered the working out of the principles of responsible government within the framework of a system of imperial, and later federal, control. The more radical principle of checks and balances, involving the separation of the executive and legislative functions of government, written into the constitution of the United States, has been avoided as foreign to the spirit of Canadian political life.

That Canada has a political tradition more conservative than the United States would seem evident. This country remained within the British Empire, ultimately to secure separation by peaceful means; the people of the United States fought for and won their independence on the field of battle. The contrast today between the political institutions, and the informal processes of government, of the two countries reflects the different background of political development.

Concern to demonstrate the distinctiveness of Canada's political institutions, however, has led to a failure to recognize fully the importance of very similar forces in the political life of the two countries. The assumption that the constitution of the United States grew out of the political experience of eighteenth-century Europe, while the constitution of Canada (that is, the unwritten part determining the form of parliamentary government) grew out of the political experience of nineteenth-century Europe, overlooks as Turner emphasized a half-century ago the extent to which the principles of American government reflect very directly the political experience of American frontier peoples. What this paper seeks to demonstrate is that Canada shared in the revolutionary tradition of this continent which found its fullest expression in the American War of Independence

and the principle of checks and balances written into the American constitution, that, however, geography favoured the maintenance in this part of the continent of the controls of an old-world imperial, and later of a close federal, system, and that the effort to maintain these controls in face of the continuous threat of the expanding revolutionary community to the south led to the development of a form of government directly opposed to the principles of political organization growing out of the frontier experience of Canadian peoples. Thus what has been thought of in Canada as an orderly process of adapting political institutions to changing circumstances has actually represented an effort to hold in check the kind of democratic forces which were growing up from within the Canadian community. Responsible government developed in reaction rather than in response to the true democratic spirit of the Canadian people.

For the three centuries of its history the American continent has been a breeding ground of economic, political, social, and religious experiments of various sorts. Such was particularly the case during the latter half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. These one hundred years witnessed not only the revolutionary war of independence but most of the great utopian experiments in economic, political, and religious reform. It was not an accident that it was on the North American Continent that the ideas of the English utopian, Robert Owen, and the French utopian, Charles Fourier, were tried out or that on the Euro-Asiatic Continent were tried out almost a century later the ideas of the German utopian, Karl Marx. Great land masses present problems of control. The ineptness of political administration where distances are great breeds political discontent and offers opportunities for the growth of revolutionary movements. On the North American Continent political authority was established only in face of almost continuous resistance on the part of the population in outlying areas. The American people fought not one but many wars of independence. Thrown on to their own resources, the populations of isolated areas or of areas of new economic growth organized their own systems of control and, when central authority sought to establish itself, movements of revolt quickly developed. The committee of safety, the territorial convention, the bill of rights, a locally issued currency, and encouragement of smuggling and tax evasion afforded means of politically organizing the frontier and of securing its autonomy in relationship with outside government bodies.

It was this insistence upon local autonomy, this separatist spirit, which was the dominant characteristic of those revolutionary or reform movements which grew up in the interior parts of the continent. Such movements sought to build the New Society not by making over the old, but by separating from it. The reason, of course, lay in the economic and political weakness of the frontier community. The thirteen small, scattered, English colonies of 1775 could not hope to reform the British Empire but they could escape its exactions by separating from it. Similarly, the few Mor-

mons settled on the desert wastes of Utah one hundred years later could have little hope of transforming to their liking the society of the United States (though the founder of the Mormon sect, Joseph Smith, did for a time aspire to the American presidency), but they could retreat from that society and secure their isolation by establishing a strong form of local theocratic government, a distinctive and to the outside world morally repugnant family system, and their own banking and currency system.

There was something of this intense localism, an almost sectarian exclusiveness, in all American reform movements of the frontier. The dominant urge of frontier populations was to be left alone, to escape the exactions and restrictions of outside political authority. This was not because the frontier was poor but because it was rich. As politically virgin territory, it offered almost unlimited opportunities for office-seekers from the outside; its virgin natural resources invited economic exploitation. It was in the struggle for the control of these two things of value on the frontier—offices and land—that there developed much of the resistance to central government. Reform on the frontier was directed against such social evils of the outside world as political patronage, the payment of excessive salaries to governmental officials, economic monopoly, a stringent money supply, exorbitant interest charges, and burdensome taxation. Remedy for the ills of the frontier was sought in the effort to develop its own means of exploiting its economic and political resources.

It was no easy task for the central authorities to hold in check these separatist movements, to put down what amounted in effect to revolts against the state. Such movements had enormous advantages in geography and in the fanatical zeal of their leaders and followers growing out of strong feelings of righteousness. Where few qualifications for office were insisted on, an unlimited supply of people to fill positions of leadership and trust was available. Frontier conditions made for great mobility of agitators, self-appointed prophets and organizers. On the other hand, the difficulties of policing, the ineptness of officials unfamiliar with local conditions, and the limitation in the supply of trained personnel handicapped severely governments seeking to impose their authority from the outside. When force was resorted to, a rebelling population, by delaying tactics, by hit and run raids, and by scattering when faced with a force more formidable than its own, could make the cost of defeating it so great as to discourage any determined effort directed to such an end.

Yet it would not be correct to say simply that the state was powerless to deal with frontier movements of revolt in America. The fact was that in that part of the continent which became the United States the authority of the central government was seldom employed with any resoluteness of purpose in putting down such movements. The American political society tended to be highly tolerant of the non-conforming elements of its population. The very weakness of the military forces of the state until recent years has been a reflection of such tolerance.

The constituted political authorities in the American society had no reason to be greatly concerned about movements of political separatism except when, as in 1776, they threatened to carry the population out of the British Empire or, as in 1860, they threatened the dismemberment of the Union. Rather, until recent years at any rate, such movements have constituted an important means of extending and strengthening American society. The major task of that society has been the conquering and occupation of a continent. In undertaking that task, it faced no organized political community on the continent as powerful as itself. There were, however, two serious claims to the continent which had to be destroyed if the Manifest Destiny of American peoples was to be realized.

The first, of course, was that of the North American Indian. Experience had demonstrated the costliness of trying to subdue the Indian by open warfare and the use of regular armies. The Indian enjoyed the advantages of all frontier people: great mobility, thorough knowledge of the terrain, and familiarity with the kind of weapons and tactics most suitable for frontier warfare. In challenging the claim of the Indian to the continent, accordingly, reliance was placed upon the resourcefulness (and unscrupulousness) of the white settlers. Treaties with the Indians solemnly entered into by the government were disregarded by these land-hungry settlers, and resistance on the part of the red man was used as an excuse for wars of extermination. The advance of American white society on the continent took place by means of this continuous pushing back and destruction of the native by people who took the law into their own hands. The same result would have been secured in the end, and at much less cost in human life, had the central government maintained a greater degree of order on the frontier but only by delaying the advance of the white man's civilization. By tolerating the frontier settler's exercise of a large measure of independence, by granting in effect a large degree of autonomy to frontier communities, the American society was able that much more speedily to complete the occupation of the continent.

The second important claim to the American continent was that of the overseas empires. In the effort to destroy this claim, the interests of the British governing authorities before 1760, as of the central governing authorities of the united colonies or united states after 1776, were closely identified with the interests of the American frontier population. With no standing army on the continent sufficiently powerful to challenge the French Empire in America before 1760, and no navy sufficiently powerful to challenge the British Empire in America after 1776, the claims of the American political society to the continent were most successfully championed by the advancing frontiersmen fighting on ground on which the advantages were on their side and often through acts of warfare which were formally repudiated by the responsible governing authorities. Frontier armies or border raiding parties played an important part in the French-English wars, the War of Independence, and the War of 1812-14, while

the two later invasions of Canadian territory, by the Patriots in 1838 and by the Fenians in the 1860's, were carried out entirely by armed forces of this sort. Spanish and French claims to the southern part of the continent were attacked by military forces of a similar character.

The invasion of territory outside the formal jurisdiction of the American political society was not simply an act of aggression of a land-hungry people. Frontier populations were land-hungry, but land hunger became closely identified with an interest in political reform. To wrest territory away from the control of France, Britain, or Spain was to "liberate" not only the territory but the inhabitants from the control of an old-world empire system. Here was to be found the significance of the revolutionary movement in the strengthening of the continental claims of the American political society. Wars with neighbouring communities assumed something of the character of wars of independence. In terms of the local scene, for instance, there was little essential difference between the border fighting in the Seven Years' War, the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812-14, and that which took place after the Canadian rebellions of 1837. In all these cases, the drive to liberate Canada came largely from what was then the American West and in all, important support was obtained from within the Canadian community. Frontier populations on both sides of the border faced much the same problems and readily joined forces in protesting against the exactions and restrictions of outside political authorities. Within the continental situation, such movements of protest meant inevitably the weakening of the position of the overseas empires and the consequent strengthening of the position of the American political society.

Until at least the present century, thus, American expansionism and American reformism were closely linked to one another. The doctrine of Manifest Destiny found important support in the doctrine of revolutionary republicanism; or, to look at the matter from the other side, the isolationism of the American Republic was born out of the isolationism of the frontier and was a natural response to a situation where the nation felt no real threat to its position within the American continental system and craved no allies. What this meant was a form of government based upon the principle of a separation of powers and a limitation of centralized authority. Though in the writing of the constitution of the American Republic powerful conservative interests, identified with sound finance and the promotion of overseas trade, did succeed in securing certain safeguards against the development of a system of political irresponsibility, the separatist-isolationist spirit of the American political community was too strong to be effectively checked by particular constitutional expedients such as the method of the election of the president or federal senators. American political theorists may have read Blackstone and Montesquieu, but the form of government they devised was one which reflected very directly the frontier political experience of American peoples.

In Canada there was not lacking among the people a frontier political

experience similar to that of American peoples. Developing as the American frontier did through the spread of settlement into the interior of the continent, the Canadian frontier offered an almost equally fertile field for the growth of movements of a reform or revolutionary character. The insurrection of the *coureurs de bois* and the generally unco-operative attitude of the population during the period of the old régime, widespread disaffection in Nova Scotia and Quebec during the American Revolutionary War and in Upper Canada during the War of 1812-14, the rebellions of 1837, the Irish riots and the Clear Grit movement of the 1850's, the Red River and Northwest rebellions of 1870 and 1885, the development of militant miners' associations in the Klondike following the gold rush, the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919, and the rise of the western agrarian political movement in the 1920's and of the Social Credit movement in the 1930's afford examples of efforts upon the part of Canadian people to create for themselves a better world in which to live. As across the border, these movements were essentially separatist, anti-authoritarian in character. They grew out of the feelings of isolated people that their problems were peculiar to themselves and could only be solved through their own efforts. Thus the resort to similar forms of political organization and instruments of political expression designed to limit the authority of central governments: the committee of safety, convention, bill of rights, election of executive as well as legislative officers, group representation, referendum, and recall.

But whereas in the United States the development of separatist political movements meant freeing the expansive energies of the frontier and thus strengthening the political society as a whole, in Canada it meant exposing the frontier to forces of American expansion and threatening thereby the separate political existence of the Canadian community. The Canadian frontier lay alongside the line of advance of the American, and, while it could be reached only with great difficulty by armed forces moving out from the established centres of government, it could be swiftly invaded from across the border or from it Canadian rebellious forces could as readily withdraw to American territory. John Allan, William Lyon Mackenzie, Joseph Papineau, and Louis Riel found refuge in the United States when rebellions they had led in Canada failed, and new rebellious uprisings were plotted on the other side of the line with the aid of American sympathizers. What this meant, therefore, was that any assertion of greater independence on the part of the Canadian frontier society drew it closer to the American and paved the way for its ultimate absorption.

Had the advantages of geography been all on one side, of course, no effort to maintain in the northern part of the continent a politically separate community would have been successful. But though American expansionism threatened Canadian lines of communication with the interior, no American liberation movement was sufficiently powerful to completely destroy in this part of the continent the claims of a rival political power.

Canada maintained her separate political existence but only by resisting any movement on the part of her population which had the effect of weakening the controls of central political authority. The claims to the interior of the continent were staked not by advancing frontiersmen, acting on their own, but by advancing armies and police forces, large corporate economic enterprises and ecclesiastical organizations, supported by the state. The Canadian political temper, as a result, has run sharply counter to the American. Those creeds of American political life—individual rights, local autonomy, and limitation of executive power—which have contributed so much to the political strength of the American community have found less strong support within the Canadian political system. Canada sought political strength through alliance with the North American Indian and the support of ties which bound her people to the old world and to a highly centralized federal system. In turn this meant a political system which emphasized the responsibility of governing authorities and tended to concentrate power in the hands of the executive. In this respect, it is easy to exaggerate the change which came with the establishment of responsible government in Canada. The two-party, cabinet system of government grew out of those conditions of rule in Canada which required the maintenance of a highly centralized political community and, as such, it stood sharply opposed to the separatist principles of political organization growing out of the frontier experience of the Canadian people. In the 1830's the Canadian frontier community found its true champions in Joseph Papineau and William Lyon Mackenzie. Responsible government came not as the climax but the anticlimax to the long struggle in Canada to secure the reform of colonial institutions. It represented an accommodative movement in the political organization of the Canadian community.

That is not to say that reform thought has developed no strength in Canada. The American revolutionary movement has made its influence felt in spite of strong forces of resistance which have been built up. Important also has been the influence of overseas reform movements and particularly the great reform movements of nineteenth-century Britain. But if the effect of such influences has been to soften the character of old-world political torism in the country, the effect of powerful conservative forces has been to convert the harsh and politically irresponsible radicalism of the frontier into more accommodative forms of reform thought. Canadian reform, as a result, has displayed a less uncompromising spirit than American reform; it has sought more to rebuild the Old Society than to separate from it.

Enough perhaps has been said to indicate the nature of some of the forces which have determined the character of development of the political institutions of this country. It is not the purpose of this paper to examine in any detail recent political developments which have taken place in Canada or the United States. The fact, however, that the United States

today appears to be more intolerant of radical political movements than Canada or her other immediate neighbour, Mexico, may seem strange in the light of what has been said above.

If this is so, the reason in part would seem to lie in the changed position of the United States in world affairs. Until about the turn of the present century, as this paper has attempted to demonstrate, the main energies of the American people were directed towards the occupation of a continent and in the carrying out of this task reformism and expansionism were closely linked. Facing no serious threat to its political existence, the American society could tolerate the growth of nonconformist movements and the growth of such movements contributed to the extension of American territorial claims on the continent. Faced now with a threat to its national existence, and that from another continental power which has linked closely together forces of expansion and reform, the United States would appear to have turned its back on its revolutionary tradition and to be seeking strength by consolidation of the forces of the state. Canada, by withdrawing less from the old-world society in the past, is now perhaps more able to infuse into her society something of the reform spirit developing strength outside the country.

To say this, however, is to risk exaggerating the difference between the political temper of the United States of today and of the United States of the past. The American people are perhaps no more intolerant of non-conformity within their midst than they ever were. What they are intolerant of, as they have always been, is any interference in their affairs from the outside. The attack of Joseph McCarthy upon Communist influences in the government of the United States is a clear and genuine expression of the American frontier, isolationist spirit. It is no accident that McCarthy comes from the Middle West and represents an ethnic-religious minority population in the United States. His attack is directed against not poor, downtrodden people crying for a voice in the affairs of the state but against powerful political leaders, of unquestioned social respectability, largely of Anglo-Saxon background. Critics outside the country might well pause to consider not the intolerance which finds expression in McCarthyism but the tolerance which makes it possible for McCarthyism to develop. In Canada it would be hard to conceive of a state of political freedom great enough to permit the kind of attacks upon responsible leaders of the government which have been carried out in the United States. More careful examination of the American community in general, and perhaps of the academic community in particular, would probably reveal that, in spite of the witch hunts in that country, the people of the United States enjoy in fact a much greater degree of freedom than do the people of Canada. We could scarcely have a witch hunt when we have no witches!

These remarks, however acceptable they may be, suggest at least the need for caution in the use of such terms as radical and reactionary. A student of Social Credit in Alberta is quickly made aware of the fact that

here is a movement which from one point of view can be thought of as radical, from another point of view as reactionary. The same would seem to be true of the McCarthy movement in the United States. It is not sufficient to say that these are movements which went "bad," because of their unfortunate leadership or for some other reason peculiar to themselves. What appears evident is that all those movements which grew out of the American—or Canadian—frontier were of this character, radical in the sense that they involved a break from established political practice, reactionary in the sense that their efforts were directed towards the creation of a more simple, primitive type of political world.

The farm movements of the western United States or of western Canada, for instance, sought the reform of political institutions not in a strengthening by more subtle means of the responsibility of the governors to the governed but by the development of simple, direct means of popular control over government. Thus the convention, referendum and recall, election of public officials, rotation of offices, and group representation in parliament were intended to weaken the executive branch of government and thereby strengthen the voice of the people in the affairs of the state. As instruments of political separatism, such forms of popular government were highly effective. They afforded a means of mobilizing the resistance of a population, often geographically remote and isolated, to a political authority which failed to give adequate expression to its interests. It is in these terms that must be viewed, for instance, the U.F.A. experiment in political democracy—convention rule and group representation. By giving to the convention what was hoped would be the decisive voice in determining, within the provincial sphere, the personnel of the cabinet and the legislative programme of the government, and by giving to the constituency associations control, in the federal sphere, of the voting behaviour of Alberta members of parliament, a form of government was devised which promised to destroy party discipline and bring to an end cabinet domination over the legislature. The significance of such a development lay in its effect in weakening the influence of Ottawa in Alberta. By breaking from the federal party system, and by undermining the whole system of parliamentary government, in Ottawa and Edmonton, the people of Alberta, at least theoretically, were given a dominant voice in the governing of their own affairs.

What eventually became evident, however, even to some of the U.F.A. leaders themselves, was that a form of political organization devised to strengthen the control of the people of Alberta over their own affairs had the effect of seriously weakening their control over the affairs of the country at large. In Ottawa, the members from Alberta, acting as delegates of the people, were forced into a position of political irresponsibility. They could not be held accountable for any actions of the government, or for any actions of that party which on defeat of the governing party would succeed it. Even more than this, to the extent that convention rule really operated,

the governing authorities in Alberta were placed in a politically irresponsible position. They could not be held accountable for acts dictated by the convention. Examination of the behind-the-scenes role played by Henry Wise Wood in the U.F.A. provincial conventions reveals how readily such an instrument of popular government could have been manipulated by an unscrupulous leadership to serve its own ends. That it was not so manipulated and that convention rule was as little damaging as it was in Alberta were largely owing to the high idealism which characterized the leadership of Mr. Wood and to the good sense, tact, and intellectual strength of the province's second U.F.A. premier, Mr. Brownlee.

The truth is that the forms of political organization which grew out of the frontier experience were not well designed to secure the effective, continuous control of the population over its affairs. Immediately, the revolt from outside authority did lead to an increased control over matters of local concern, but such a result was secured at the price of destroying some of the most important of the safeguards of political organization against the concentration of power in the hands of irresponsible leaders or groups. Such an effect was not intended, of course, but the insensitiveness of frontier democratic theory to the importance of executive responsibility meant inevitably a failure to provide the conditions necessary for effective democratic control.

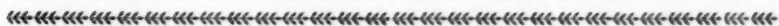
We have been too much inclined perhaps to exaggerate the political intelligence of frontier populations. It comes hard to one brought up in Alberta to suggest that the people of that province who thought of themselves as in the vanguard of reform actually had only a limited appreciation of the complexities of modern government and no great understanding of the conditions necessary for the preservation of individual rights and a sense of community responsibility. In a cultural sense, the frontier was not a rich and progressive but a poor and retarded society. Its effort to break from the old political and social system of which it had been a part and to create a new system of its liking involved the disowning of a heritage which it had in large measure lost and the building anew of a political and social life with tools fashioned out of its rough and limited experience.

This fact becomes evident when it is recognized that the political reform movement was only one of many forms of frontier protest. Religious sectarianism, vigilantism, medical quackery, mob rioting, tax evasion, smuggling and political apathy were other means of resistance by a frontier population to the interferences of an outside society in its affairs. What was apparent in all the various kinds of movements which came out of the frontier was an underlying attitude of irresponsibility with respect to the affairs of the larger community. The frontiersman was a difficult person to govern in that he was not prepared to accept the normal obligations of a member of society. One of the primary objects of convention rule, as the U.F.A. sought to establish it in Alberta, was to make the individual a bad party man and thereby in a sense a poor citizen. In the emphasis of Social

Credit upon results rather than means, poor citizenship in the form of lack of concern for the actual management of political affairs became almost a condition of membership in the party.

If what is said here is true, one is forced to the conclusion that the development in Canada of parliamentary institutions of government within the framework of the British imperial, and later the Canadian federal, system represented a more enlightened approach to the problem of government in the modern world than did the development of those forms of political organization which found expression in the constitution of the United States. Canada can assume a more responsible and thus more effective role in world affairs than can the United States not because its government is less responsive to the people but because its government's freedom of action is not continuously hampered by the behaviour of irresponsible parties and groups. In this sense, McCarthyism does represent a reactionary force in American political life.

In another sense, however, McCarthyism might be thought to represent a progressive force. By bringing about a break from established practice and forms of organization, the frontier separatist movement had the effect of weakening the hold of tradition upon men's thoughts and actions and thus in making possible a more rational approach to society's problems. There is nothing paradoxical in the fact that religious sectarianism, though in its teachings intensely hostile to science, did much nevertheless to further its growth. The very violence of the religious sectarian break from traditional forms of thought meant that it was not easy for those caught up in its teachings to fall back into old, accepted ways of thinking once their religious fervour had cooled. Such persons were able as a result to embark upon new and what might be considered socially dangerous lines of thought. Thus did Protestantism contribute to the growth of science and to the development of new forms of economic enterprise. In a similar way, it may be argued that the frontier political protest movement, though reactionary in terms of the ends it sought to accomplish, has been progressive in terms of its ultimate effect upon the organization of society. A native son of Alberta might well take comfort in the view that once the people of that province learn wisdom their inclination to go on trying something new will result in their contributing in a very real way to political advancement. Critics of the United States need to recognize that a country which has so little respect for the past is perhaps the country most able to learn what the past has to teach.



Some Pictographs of Southeastern British Columbia

By DOUGLAS LEECHMAN, F.R.S.C.

MORE field work is required before we can plot the distribution of pictographs in British Columbia. They appear to be uncommon in the wet coastal belt, where they are largely replaced by petroglyphs, but the dry interior part of the province shows many examples. Harlan I. Smith recorded a number of them late in the nineteenth century and other occurrences have been discovered since. The present paper deals with some hitherto undescribed pictographs from Penticton, Sicamous, and the vicinity of Pavilion, near Lillooet. Many others are already known to exist, and it is highly probable that more remain to be discovered.

Pictographs occur on flat rock surfaces, especially in lonely and out-of-the-way places, and others are to be found on conspicuous isolated boulders. Some observers have been puzzled by pictographs painted on rock faces twenty or thirty feet above the water level of a lake. The late Mr. B. G. Hamilton, of Windermere, British Columbia, says that "it is on record at Arrowhead that the water in the Upper Arrow Lake once rose twenty-seven feet above the ordinary level," and there once were pictographs on the rocky walls of that lake which could have been painted in such circumstances. Nevertheless, it is entirely possible that the artists constructed a primitive scaffolding of stout poles slung between rawhide lines. Such structures were seen by Fraser when he followed the rough Indian trail through the Fraser Canyon, so it is evident that their use was already familiar to the Indians of that district. Then again, many rock faces are not quite as unclimbable as they appear, so we may safely discard the Indian belief, offered with apparent sincerity, that these rock paintings are of supernatural origin. This was the story concerning one group near Quilchena on Nicola Lake, still visible in 1900, but now said to be almost obliterated.

The colour used was predominantly red, though black, yellow, white, and, very rarely, green have been recorded. The red pigment was nearly always red ochre, often used in its natural state, but sometimes prepared by baking yellow ochre. In this process, yellow ochre was cleaned by hand, to remove bits of twigs and leaves, pebbles, and other impurities, before the powdered ochre was kneaded with water into balls about the size of a walnut. These were flattened into discs and baked in a hot fire which converted the yellow ochre (Ferrous oxide, FeO) into red ochre (Ferric oxide, Fe_2O_3). These cakes were then ground to powder and mixed with an appropriate medium, such as grease, oil, or water.

There are several deposits of red and yellow ochre known to the Indians of the southern interior of British Columbia. Among the largest are the red cliffs at Tulameen. The native name for this place is Tsulamen, which means "red paint." Another locality, the Indian name of which is Skwokilow, lies on the east side of Adams Lake, about five miles from the lower end. This is a deposit of yellow ochre; when it was examined by Dr. G. M. Dawson in the 1880's he noted a large excavation near the beach made by the Indians in extracting this material. A third locality, near the junction of Hat Creek with the Bonaparte River, has not yet been precisely identified. Still others, somewhat farther away, are the famous Paint Pots in the Rocky Mountains, and another deposit on Harrison Lake, north of Agassiz. There are other minor sources which were used occasionally.

Red has long been connected with ceremonial observances among the Indians of British Columbia and, indeed, with those of much of North America. It, among other pigments, was used as war paint, for the decoration of clothing, tools, weapons, and for many other similar purposes. When it was to be used for painting surfaces, it might be mixed with water or, for more permanence, with oil. Sometimes it was mixed with grease for use on the face and body and sometimes it was made up into sticks, much like our grease paint.

There is no evidence that brushes were used; it seems that the paint was applied with the fingers. This is in sharp contrast with the painting technique of the Pacific Coast, where the people made very adequate brushes that could produce fine lines or cover large surfaces.

There is no reason to believe that any of these paintings are very old. Many of them, most of them perhaps, are in positions where they are continuously exposed and the rock face, as well as any paintings on it, is weathering away. Some pictographs are found in caves, but caves are usually formed in soft rocks and here too weathering is rapid. In our own experience many paintings, recorded from the Arrow Lakes some fifty or sixty years ago, were not to be found in 1953. A number of writers have commented on the disappearance of rock paintings once familiar to them, including James Teit and Basil Hamilton. Sometimes the destruction of pictographs is attributable to human agencies for some people seem to be possessed by an inborn spirit of vandalism that leads them to destroy or deface any pictographs they encounter.

Many efforts have been made to read, or to read a meaning into, pictographs and many fantastic hypotheses have been evolved. Some profess to believe that they are traces of a long extinct race, even though there is nothing to suggest that the paintings are of any great antiquity. Others have supposed that they mark good fishing or hunting places, though pictographs are often found in areas where there is no game or fish. Romantic prospectors have believed that they indicate the presence of buried treasure and other people see in them records of long-forgotten battles and hunting expeditions.

Actually, as far as the interior of British Columbia is concerned at any rate, the meaning and purpose of them is well known. It was discussed in detail by James Teit, who had married a Salish woman, and who was perfectly familiar with pictographs himself and knew personally a number of Indians who could interpret the various figures shown, including some who had actually drawn such figures.

It may well be that some of the figures had no special meaning and were painted to while away idle moments, but the great majority of them were executed by people after some supernatural experience. It was usual for boys at puberty to go into the distant hills on a spirit quest, fasting and praying that they might receive a vision and establish rapport with a spiritual being who would assist them in later life. Boys returning from these spirit quests were often sent to some lonely and forbidding spot to paint on the walls of the cliffs and caves a record of their visions.

Girls underwent a more elaborate puberty ceremony, which involved seclusion in a special hut and the imposition of many taboos. During this secluded period the girls occupied themselves in various ways to ensure that they would be industrious and competent when they married and performed symbolical tasks to attain this end. They would dig long shallow trenches in the ground, and pluck the needles carefully, one by one, from branches of conifers. They wove symbolical mats and baskets from nearby grasses. Returning from this seclusion, it was customary for the girls to paint on rocks and boulders representations of the offerings they had made and the tasks they had performed. As nearly all the girls made similar offerings, burying food at a point where two trails crossed, and hanging the symbolical mats and baskets on nearby bushes, and as most of them had dug trenches and picked spruce needles it was only natural that they should all paint representations of the same things when performing this part of the ceremony. As a result, nearly any woman could identify the various objects depicted, for she had been through the same ceremonies and had painted similar objects herself.

Adult men, and some women too, sometimes renewed the spirit quest of their adolescent days, especially those who professed to be medicine men and they too, on their return from these supernatural experiences, would paint records of their visions in suitable places. Men also engraved the same designs on their tobacco pipes and painted them on their drums, and women would sometimes use them to decorate their clothing.

Certain spiritual beings were felt to be appropriate for certain occupations and to certain sexes. The choice of spirit entities appropriate to women was apparently much more restricted than in the case of men. The only animal mentioned by Teit as being a women's guardian is the mountain goat. Smith adds insects. Others were the animating spirits in such objects as baskets, pack straps, and root-diggers.

The men, on the other hand, had many spiritual beings potentially at their command and the reaction of the man and the spirit was more or

less reciprocal. By this I mean that if a youth was ambitious to be a great warrior he might hope that his spirit quest would be rewarded by a vision of such appropriate warlike entities as the sun or thunder, the grizzly bear, an eagle or a hawk, or associated inanimate objects such as an arrow or a knife. Correspondingly a boy who, not yet having felt a call or selected any particular goal, saw one or more of these warlike beings in his visions, might feel that he was consequently predestined to the role of a warrior. In the same way, hunters were particularly attracted to wolves, wolverines, and owls, as well as traps and snares. Men who hoped for skill in fishing were attracted to water, ducks, canoes, fishing gear, parts of a fish weir, and other similar objects. Gamblers saw the things used as stakes in gambling such as dentalium shells, face paint, nephrite property celts, blankets, and other valuables. Youths who hoped for success in running and athletic sports saw animals and birds noted for their swiftness.

With these facts at our disposal, the interpretation of many of the designs found in the pictographs of this area is much simplified. Nevertheless there remain some designs difficult of interpretation and we may not assume that an interpretation valid in central British Columbia would be equally sound in Alberta or in Ontario.

Once the puberty ceremonies for the two sexes are understood, the interpretation of the pictographs becomes relatively simple. The objects most commonly represented are: celestial bodies and phenomena such as sun, stars, rainbows, and lightning; physiographic forms such as mountains, lakes, waterfalls, and trails; animal figures such as human beings, mammals, the tracks of bears and bear cubs; the white collar on the neck of the loon, snakes, and insects; inanimate objects such as grave poles, semi-subterranean houses, menstrual lodges, conifer branches, unfinished mats and baskets, and trenches. This is by no means a complete list but it is noteworthy that we have included here representations of some of the more important guardian spirits and also of objects connected with puberty ceremonies, especially those of the girls.

A simple X or cross is readily interpreted as the intersection of two trails and, indeed, this would seem too facile an interpretation except that we are aware that it was customary for girls to bury offerings of food at these points. Teit says the girl "was sparingly fed by her parents or guardians. Part of the first four scanty meals had to be buried in the earth beneath where the girl sat, or, more generally, at the crossing of two trails, or at both places. This was done in order that for the remainder of her life she would never want for a little food and drink."

Paintings representing human beings were made by both boys and girls and in many, if not all, cases were representations of the future spouse. The animals depicted generally represented the guardian spirits associated with men and, in the case of the bear and the bear cub, the track was often taken to indicate the whole animal. Spiders and other hairy insects were, according to Smith, "among the Manitous most commonly possessed by

women in this region" and he records also butterfly designs and ladder-like patterns which suggested the tessellated skin of snakes.

Representations of menstrual lodges and of the conifer branches from which the needles were plucked were common. Sometimes the branches are shown with the needles still in place and in others they have been completely stripped. Teit says that the denuded branches were used as symbolical offerings and "the girls plucked the needles one by one, that their fingers may become nimble and that they may not grow tired by the work that will be her share in life."

Cross-hatched designs represent matting and curvilinear patterns with short radiating strokes are intended to symbolize unfinished basketry. These have often been misinterpreted as the sun with effulgent rays or head-dresses with radiating feathers.

The practice of digging trenches seems to have been well established and Teit makes the following comments on this custom among the Thompson Indians. The girl, he says, "dug trenches, that she might be capable of doing a large amount of digging and other hard work. The trenches were from twenty to thirty yards in length, and generally shallow. Others were short and deep. They were near some trail, and parallel to it, always on the lower side of the trail. The excavated dirt was thrown on the lower side of the ditch. [In the pictographs short spurs at right angles to the "trench" represent the piles of excavated soil.] This was believed to shorten the duration of her monthly periods. She planted at each end of the trench a single fir branch or the stick with which she had dug the ditch. Sometimes she planted her root digger there, or deposited a single smooth stone, on which she painted pictures; or she placed two or three unpainted small stones at each end."

Of the three sites recently investigated the one at Mara Lake seems to be the type of site used by girls on their return from seclusion. It is on the eastward face of Black Point, a precipitous bluff that projects from the west side of the lake about six miles south of Sicamous, and is most readily approached by boat. Red is the predominant colour, perhaps the only one, but this is not certain for other pictographs may still be found at this site, some of those already seen being in almost inaccessible places. The principal forms depicted are: human beings, a bird form, a trench, cross trails, grave poles, unfinished basketry, geometrical, and other forms. This would suggest that girls executed many of the designs, one in particular showing a human being carrying stripped conifer branches in each hand.

The site near Pavilion is set up a steep draw through which runs a trail from Pavilion to Cache Creek. On the almost vertical, thinly bedded, cream-coloured limestone are a number of pictographs in red. Recognizable among them is a man carrying a bow; big-horn sheep and other mammal forms; a bear's paw; a bird form; stripped branches; unfinished basketry; and indefinite geometrical forms. This particular site seems to carry symbols painted by both boys and girls.



FIGURE 1.—Pictographs, Mara Lake, B.C.

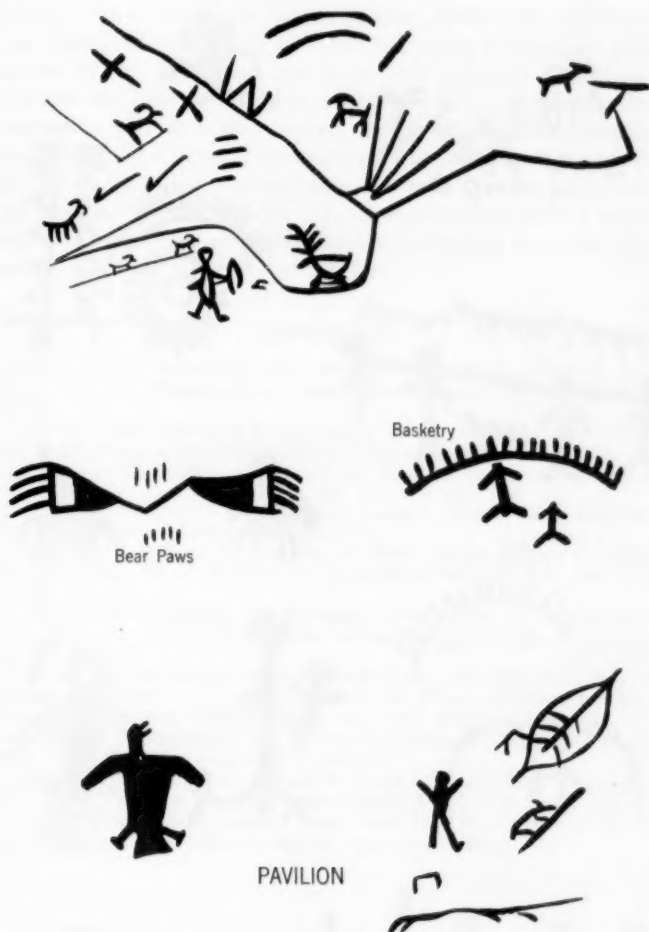


FIGURE 2.—Pictographs, Pavilion, B.C.



FIGURE 3.—Pictographs, Penticton, B.C.

There are three sites in the Penticton area, fairly close together, on the road to Hedley. Here vertical faces of rock carry pictographs painted in two shades of red, but in no case have both pigments been used in the same pictograph. One of these sites is a remote and lonely spot below a cliff towering above a shallow rock shelter, and in this particular place most of the pictographs were apparently made by men or boys. The group shows human beings, including two examples of a man on horseback (indicating that the paintings cannot be very old); a dog-like mammal; a bear's paw; a hairy insect; trenches; unfinished basketry; stripped branches; two lakes connected by a trail; and geometrical forms.

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The Duchy of Teschen as *Zwischenland*

WILLIAM J. ROSE, F.R.S.C.

WHEN war broke over Europe at the end of July, 1914, the writer was caught, whether by chance or high design, in what can be called a "pocket of civilization," set in the very heart of Europe—the Duchy of Teschen (Polish "Cieszyn," Czech "Tessin"). Separated off on all sides by administrative boundaries and curiously bounded as well by geography, this tiny quadrilateral of less than 1200 square miles is peopled by as unusual an amalgam of racial, cultural, and occupational elements as the continent can boast of. What is more, it has remained throughout the centuries a veritable *terre inconnue*: millions have passed through it by road and rail but few ever tarried to examine it. In consequence, when, during the peace negotiations in 1919, faced with a flare-up of hostility between two neighbour, only just liberated, Slav nations, Lloyd George uttered his celebrated words: "Teschen! Who ever heard of Teschen?" he was not as guilty of peculiar ignorance as some of us imagined.

For reasons that will emerge in these pages, the Duchy presents a supreme example of what the Germans know as a *Zwischenland*, or *Zwischengebiet*—a transit area seeming to belong nowhere, with all the arresting implications of that name. An effort then to set down, even in the dimensions of a brief paper, an outline story and analysis of this region, seems to be justified. In the attempt, I have drawn on personal observations, on the help of native-born Silesians living today in exile, on relevant monographs in different languages, and on such useful materials as I kept under my hand after retiring from my work in London in 1950. The pages that follow are only an introduction to what might be a revealing study involving geography, history (political, economic, and cultural), anthropology (both physical and cultural), and, of course, those two ruthless forces that dog the scholar of today, economics and politics.

Geography

The plainland of Silesia, drained by the Oder and its tributaries, has been a borderland for at least a millenium. A glance at the map will show why. The sources of that river are to be found both inside the Moravian Gate (as one comes from Rome—the *caput mundi*) and outside it. They drain the slopes of the western Carpathians, here known as *Beskids*, and then in turn the eastern approaches of the Grandfather Mountains; and their waters are poured into the Baltic at Stettin. What concerns us here are the remoter reaches, lying above the region of heavy industries, where,



FIGURE 1.—Duchy of Teschen. By courtesy of W. C. Dean.

down to 1918, three empires met; in particular the eastern one of *two* duchies left to Austria by Frederic of Prussia, when he set about extending his kingdom in 1740. This is the tiny quadrilateral already mentioned, of which the western half belongs to the Oder system, the eastern to that of the Vistula.

Adjacent on the west lies the fertile plain of Moravia. On the east lies what used to be called Galicia—more properly Lesser Poland. To the north in modern times lay Prussian Silesia, peopled chiefly by Poles; while on the south, until 1918, lay Hungary—more properly Slovakia. Two ancient routes of travel and trade met here at right angles: the celebrated “amber route” from the Danube at Komarno to the Baltic foreshore about Danzig (Gdansk), and the east-west caravan and migration route from the shores of the Black Sea and the steppes to the Danube basin—above all to the flourishing emporium of late mediaeval Prague. The Duchy took its name from the little town that grew up around a fortress on the Olsa River, whose foundation date is given as 1147. The sources of this tributary of the Oder are to be found in the Jablonkow Pass, which provides entry into the broad belt of the Carpathians as well as the way southward to Budapest and the Balkan countries of the lower Danube.

In this quadrilateral, of which the southern half is forest-covered mountain plateau, lived, according to the Austrian census of 1910, just

over 425,000 souls. Of these 55 per cent were entered as Poles, 27 per cent as Czechs, and 18 per cent as Germans—the basis of classification being the mother-tongue. The Czechs were massed along the Moravian border, with Frydek and Ostrava as their urban centres. Three quarters of the Germans were gathered in the towns of Teschen and Bielitz (Biel-sko), the latter of which represents a true example of a German colonial settlement dating from the later Middle Ages. The higher forest areas of the south were sparsely populated, while the plain was densely occupied by a peasant people, whose northern borders saw the rise of heavy industries during the nineteenth century. The soil is heavy, and not very rewarding, the climate that of the temperate zone; but with a mean elevation of 700 feet and a northern exposure, the Duchy has always known fairly long winters and much snow.

Until the coming of the machine age, in particular of the railways, just under a century ago, almost all the people of the Duchy lived from the land. Apart from timber, little was produced for export; only subsistence was possible. A few larger estates, the biggest holdings being those of the Habsburg Family, were surrounded by many middle-sized farms and a profusion of dwarf holdings from which families could live with difficulty. Only when gainful employment in industry became possible did the population increase, some of it immigrant from the still poorer country to the east. What was already an amalgam of diverse elements became more than ever a meeting-place of peoples. Inevitably, both because of its strategic position and because of its natural wealth, the Duchy was soon to be a bone of contention.

A special ground for this was the fact that the cross-roads of two trunk railway lines met at Oderberg (Bogumin) on its northern borders: the west-east line from Trieste and Vienna (or from Munich and Prague) to Cracow and Warsaw, and the Russian world; and the north-south line from Hamburg and Berlin to Budapest, Belgrade, and the Bosphorus. The former was built in the early sixties, while the latter, a private enterprise known as the Oderberg-Kaschau Railway, was put through a decade later. Until 1914 the famous "Corner of the Three Empires" lay just outside the Duchy to the northeast.

History

Silesia as a whole had been ceded in 1335 by Kazimierz of Poland to the Bohemian Crown, at that time resting on the head of the adventurous King John who was killed a few years later at Crecy. From now onward it remained severed from its true motherland, passing in 1526 (after the defeat at Mohacs) along with the rest of Bohemia and Moravia under Habsburg control. With the disaster of 1620, which saw the end of Czech independence, this control became little less than a cultural and political tyranny, serving the interests of the Altar and the Throne, which was only relaxed in part by the Edict of Toleration of 1781. Forty years before

this nearly all of Silesia had been seized by Prussia, but the two Duchies of Troppau (Opava) and Teschen—the one inside, the other outside the Moravian Gate—were left to Austria. Under Habsburg administration they remained until the collapse of the monarchy and empire in 1918. Such was the fate of many parts of Europe under the old order: to be handed about as pawns in the chessgame of the dynasties, their peoples never being consulted, and exploitation by their masters being taken as a matter of course.

On the town of Teschen the spotlight had been thrown from time to time during the centuries, and of this two or three samples are of special interest. Its Duke had been the diplomatic agent of the Emperor Charles IV, accompanying Anne of Bohemia to England in 1382, when she became the bride of Richard II. It was one of the bases of operations against the threat of Islam after the defeat of Mohacs, when for a time the Turks were only stopped by the line of the Carpathians. Its ancient castle was destroyed by the Swedes during the Thirty Years' War, and only picturesque ruins have survived to our own times. It was given one of the Protestant Churches of Grace by the Emperor, under pressure from Charles XII of Sweden in 1709; and became a leading centre of Lutheran life in the Monarchy during the next hundred years. In Teschen was signed in 1779 the treaty which ended the famous "Potato War"—the third assault of Prussia under Frederic on the Habsburg domains. On this occasion, the chroniclers tell us, every burgher got a new suit and every lady a new dress, by special permission of the Empress Maria Theresa.

But what makes this tiny *Zwischenland* a sort of *curiosum* is the fact that, inside its borders, there survived from Reformation days, in spite of severe pressure and persecution, one of the two areas of Polish Protestantism. (The other was that of the Masurians of southern East Prussia.) This was chiefly due to the fact that the ducal line of Polish Piasts did not die out here until 1653; and the Peace of Westphalia, five years before this, had reaffirmed the principle of a century earlier in matters of faith—*cujus regio ejus religio*. This branch of the Piasts had embraced the reformed faith, and the way was open for its subjects to claim their rights, and to make use of the Church of Grace granted in 1709. The imposing house of worship that was to be built and completed by 1750 *na wyższej bramie* i.e., by the Upper Gate of the town, became a centre of religious and educational life after the Edict of Toleration, to which people came or sent their sons to school from as far away as the Alps. It stands today, towering above the modern city.

But another aspect of this survival of Polish Protestantism in the Duchy was to stand out in our own time. Whereas in most of Central Europe the pattern and formula obtained that if you were a Lutheran you were a German (*Bist du evangelisch, dann musst du deutsch sein!*), while if you were a Pole you were a Catholic, the reverse was true here. In particular this made itself felt in relation to the Czechs on the western borders. The

Polish Lutherans, numbering in 1910 some 80,000 souls, were marked off from their Czech neighbours by a clear line of division, the latter being to a man Catholics. The parish of Ligotka kameralna, where I spent the whole of the war as a civilian prisoner, was almost solidly Lutheran; while a mile away to the west the peasants were Czech-speaking and belonged to the Mother Church. The latter gravitated towards the town of Frydek, while the Ligotka people regarded Teschen as their cultural and business metropolis.

Social and Cultural Features

We must now turn to modern developments, rooted for the most part in economic and technical changes; to the actual medley of population elements; and to the policies invoked by the Austrian authorities to reduce this medley to some sort of common denominator.

As noted above, a few big estates exercised a preponderating influence over much of the population in former years. Some 40 per cent of the Duchy was in 1910 in the hands of the aristocracy. One quarter of the whole belonged to the Habsburgs, but of this the larger part was forest. Next to them came the Larisch family, who were lords of some 30,000 acres. Both of these houses were also deeply involved in industrial enterprises until, at the turn of the century, the Habsburgs disposed of their industries for the tidy sum of 30,000,000 gold francs. Almost all of this "big business" was German, and the practice was to favour Germans in the matter of employment, or at the best to employ only German-speaking help. This usage did not apply so much to unskilled labour, the demand for which was often in excess of supply. In mines and foundries, then, as well as in the exploitation of the forests, one had as a rule German ownership and management, Czech overseeing (engineers and foremen), and Polish labour. A condition of promotion came to prevail that children be sent to German schools, rather than to Polish or Czech. In short, the big interests served the government well in its urge toward assimilation.

But this assimilation was not of the usual kind. There was no Austrian nation or nationality, and no Austrian language: its place was taken by the "state-idea" which for the simpler folk meant an out-and-out loyalty to the dynasty. That this tended in the long-run to mean Germanization was not denied; and after 1869 the process was easier for the Poles in the Duchy than for the Czechs, since the former enjoyed favours at the hands of "Vienna" denied to the latter, e.g. the autonomous position given to Galicia. In particular, it was easier for the Polish Lutherans, whose fellow Poles were solidly Catholics; while on the other hand for the Czech world the Roman Catholic tradition had meant oppressive domination by the Austrian Empire.

There is no doubt that the coming of big industry along the northern borders of the Duchy contributed greatly to a higher standard of living for all. Until this "relief" came, the lot of the small holder was hard. The soil

was poor in many places, he had to hitch his one cow to the harrow or the plow, and the wheel-barrow (his one vehicle of transportation) was pushed up and down sloping fields by his own strength—a back-breaking business. He grew some rye and oats, but he lived chiefly on potatoes and the bacon-fat coming from one or at best two pigs killed during the year. He knew the meaning of the term *przednowek*, applied to the weeks of early summer, when he pulled his belt tighter and lived as best he could until the new harvest came in. Now, however, it was possible for at least one member of the family (even more in some cases) to leave home on Monday morning and return on Saturday afternoon bringing cash earnings that doubled the income for the household. This was a godsend for thousands of cottagers who for generations had wrested a meagre living from upland or valley holdings; and it raised the standard of living well above that of the neighbours to the south in Slovakia, or to the east in Galicia. One consequence was a marked rise in the density of population by the turn of the century. This by 1910 had reached 400 to the square mile, and in the tilled areas it was more than double that number.

The construction in the seventies of the Oderberg-Kaschau (north-south) railway as a private enterprise deserves special attention. Built with German money, and welcomed by the administration, it could make its own rules of employment, and was already in the eighties a notable instrument of Germanization. Positions were sought for by all, whether in operation or management, and the social status thus achieved (something not much below that of civil servants) proved a great attraction. Of this social discrimination a tangible proof was the erection of a fine hotel (Brauner Hirsch) on the town square in Teschen, designed to serve both officials and travellers. Here only German was spoken, unless by the servants, and the use of a Slav tongue was frowned on. Long before 1914 it had become clear that being or becoming a German was a paying proposition; to it the next best thing was the bringing up of your family in "the German way."

To the native-born, most of whom were Slavs—Poles and Czechs—this prospect was not pleasing. They knew that Silesia had always been a part of the Slav world, and they clung to the ancient traditions. True, there had crept in through the centuries along the range of the Carpathians from the east a shepherd strain, thought to have originated in northern Roumania, which accounts for the unusual number of families with the name *Wallach*. Their assimilation had been completed long ago, and the home-grown stocks, virtually isolated from the world, reproduced themselves from generation to generation. This isolation was most in evidence on the distaff side of the family, since military service, or the search for better wages, did tend to move the men about more. From time to time in the past, upheavals like the Thirty Years' War brought even alien male elements to the land. A sample of this existed in one corner of the parish of Ligotka (in a secluded valley) where not a few of the family names

were neither Slav nor German nor Magyar. Tradition had it that escapees from the mercenary troops of Wallenstein (or even of Gustavus Adolphus) settled here—in some cases men of very doubtful morals and breeding—and in time were admitted to village society.

The medley of national origins to be met with in the Duchy—something we in the New World have long since become used to!—could be seen in the parish of Ligočka, indeed within a radius of four hundred yards from the church. There was, it is true, a small Catholic place of worship, but services were held here only on special occasions. Regular celebration of Mass could be heard two miles away near the railway station of Gnojník, where stood the Manor House. The Lutheran church, however, dominated the community, with its tower rising above the horse-chestnuts that marked the church-yard. Alongside it stood the two-roomed village school, and, of course, the manse. Here the hum of bees could be heard in the lime-trees all through the early summer, after the apple and pear blossoms were gone. At one time the yard was used as a cemetery and a few stones remained, but the new burying-ground was now situated about a quarter of a mile away on a slight knoll.

The village mayor, whose farm of eighty acres was by far the largest in the community, was "a good Austrian." His teen-aged son was away most of the year at an agricultural school (with German as the language of instruction) in Moravia. He had a Polish name, and spoke Polish with his workers—and his horses and dogs! His wife had been brought up a German, and never used any language but German unless compelled by circumstance. He spelled his name Karl and never Karol. His brother-in-law, the head teacher, had also a Polish name, and teaching in the school was done in Polish; but he never spoke it if he could help it, and was annoyed when his first name was made "Jan" instead of "Johann." The family spoke only German at home. Being organist in the church, he occupied quite a place in the community, but he was never trusted by his neighbours. All his kind were described by the rather grim term "rene-gade."

The pastor, a man of integrity and scholarship, one of the finest shepherds of souls I have ever known, was native-born, of peasant stock; and his wife was of the same breed, one generation removed. She had great charm as a hostess, and served all the poorer folk with an uncanny knowledge of everyday remedies for everyday diseases. Withal, it seemed to me that she had underneath a great affection for everything that "Vienna" stood for, not the political but the cultural side of things. Both she and her husband kept out of politics as much as possible.

The owner of the modest summer hotel, an older man, was the only born German in the village—a quiet citizen, whom everyone respected. The keeper of the largest "pub" was a rough-hewn fellow who, when questioned, said he was a Czech. Just across the street was a small shop kept by an aging Jewish couple. In a room behind it, the husband would pore over

the Talmud while his wife tended customers. On one occasion she boasted to me, "For seventeen years the cradle was never empty!" The resident forester, who had care of the Habsburg preserves near by, called himself a Hungarian, but had a German mother and a Czech wife. The local *gendarme* was of Polish origin, but was a zealous servant of the Austrian régime, and spoke Polish only when he had to. Most of the farmers, larger and smaller, were Polish in sympathy, though when asked they would call themselves "Silesians." The older man and his wife who cared for the house and grounds in which we lived were Germans of Moravian origin, simple people, Catholics, of fine character. The husband had served as a young gunner when Austrian forces were mobilized on the Russian front in the year of Solferino, 1859!

In line with the old saying "Where God builds a church, the devil erects a 'pub' across the street," the social centre of the village was one or other of three taverns in which many people would gather for music and dancing on Sunday evenings. Here vodka circulated freely, to the grave concern of the pastor. Much of it was distilled by the Mayor from potatoes grown in his fields nearby. A poorer quality of this "fire-water," a by-product of what was bottled for the traffic, was served daily during the summer to farm workers. The "mash" that remained was mixed with barley meal to fatten pigs. As the pastor put it: the people who made and sold the stuff were set for damnation in the next world; but those who drank it were damned already in this!

The outwardly even tenor of village life was changed only during July and August when every available room (or corner) in the place was in demand for holiday-makers, coming for the most part from the nearby industrial towns, but also from farther afield—even from Vienna. Easy access to the mountains, with their attraction for hikers, effected this; and it meant a useful source of income for householders. Of course there were cottages so primitive that they could hardly be called homes at all, and I recall one rambling place in which three families lived—with what I fear amounted to open promiscuity. Poverty did exist, due mostly to the weaknesses of the victims. A small home for the aged, maintained by the pastor and his people, took care of the altogether helpless, providing an object-lesson of practical philanthropy for all.

But there was an atmosphere of paternalism—that seems to be the kindest word for it—over the community which was bound to disturb anyone from the New World. Church and State, the Altar and the Throne, were in control of bodies, minds, and spirits. People regarded themselves as "subjects" of His Imperial Majesty, whose birthday in August was celebrated even in the Sunday service. Few of them had risen to any consciousness of citizenship. And the worst feature of this paternalism was that it aspired rather to keep everything as it was than to admit or nurture elements of change. Below the surface could be found various types of folk superstition: obedience was the rule, any "deviation" was frowned on. In

particular, as the pastor would say, it was a risky thing for anyone to raise his voice for reform of any social evil. Even he, though dreaming of a world freer from human frailties, had to be careful about what he said in the pulpit. When he found himself compelled to speak out with regard to something that traversed the laws of God and man, he might well be rebuked "from above," and reminded that the care of public morals was not in his hands but in those of the police.

Official Pressures

In conclusion something must be said of the pressure "from above" exerted in this tiny world, to mould it nearer to the heart's desire of those appointed to govern. By comparison with what went on fifty miles away to the south under the Magyar régime in Slovakia, or even with the stern, if enlightened, order existing in Prussian Silesia, the forms of this pressure were mild; but they were nonetheless fairly effective, and they caused a good deal of concern to those who sought to preserve the national speech and mores from corruption. In theory equal rights were assured by law to Germans, Czechs, and Poles; in respect of schooling for their children, opportunities for gainful employment, and freedom of worship and cultural advancement. In practice, ways and means were found to frustrate the efforts of all non-Germans to get a fair portion of material support for needed institutions. For example, it was only with private funds that a Polish high school was founded in the nineties in Teschen; and only after long campaigning that a Normal School for the training of teachers in the Polish tongue was provided by the state. The reason given was simple: there is no demand for it! In former years this had been true enough, and the responsibility was thus thrown on community leaders for rousing public opinion to the point where it could not be ignored. What is more, those in authority found ways and means of countering all such aspirations, and of assuring the public that the government and the church knew best what was good for all.

A fine example of this was seen in the way the Superintendent of the Lutheran Church, Dr. Theodore Haase, who held that high office in Teschen from 1876 for a full generation, crusaded for Austrian, i.e., German institutions, and German *Kultur*. He did much good, founding the first deaconess training institute in the country, and leading the campaign for a civic hospital. But along with this service went discrimination in the appointment of pastors, by which those who showed little enthusiasm for the "state-idea" were left on one side. Backed as he was by the Supreme Church Council in Vienna, he could exert a lot of pressure, and exert it the more easily since the Church Law itself seemed to favour his policy. As one true shepherd of souls put it to me: "We ministers are state officials. We are reminded that the first clause in the Church Law tells us that 'our prime duty is to maintain the dignity of our office.' This in effect means that we should keep a good table and drive a carriage and pair. Above all,

that we stick to our altar and our pulpit, and avoid anything that savours of responsibility as citizens."

Here we have a fair sample of the way all imperialism works. In Austria it was less brutal than, say, in Russia, and it had its good side; but underneath it a firm purpose was at work: to keep the masses in a state of pupillage, and see that they never grew up. The work of making "renegades," i.e., of luring people away from their native loyalties, was thus made easier. In the minds of those who revolted against such tactics there was always the example and figure of Moses, who refused to become the son of Pharaoh's daughter, preferring to suffer with his own people than to enjoy the honours of alien attachments, when they involved the selling of his birthright.

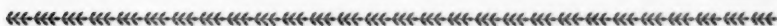
One particular example of political strategy used in the Duchy will serve to illustrate this point. It could not have succeeded in any other than a sort of "transit land," *Zwischengebiet*, such as the Duchy of Teschen provided. Its purpose was, of course, to centre more firmly the loyalties of simple people in Vienna, weaning them away from such centripetal forces as would draw them in the direction of Prague, or Cracow (even Warsaw). The area of the Duchy was valuable for reasons already noted: the people had for generations been divorced from their true mother-nation, the Polish, and common sense dictated all possible exploitation of this unusual state of things. Why not, then, foster a regional patriotism within the framework of, and moulded to, the Austrian "state-idea"? As helps to this there could be used: (i) the rugged dialect of Polish into which had infiltrated many Czech strains; (ii) the fact of Lutheran loyalties of a good portion of the inhabitants; and (iii) the seeming hopelessness of any rebirth for a united and independent Poland.

This idea, never absent from the mind of Superintendent Haase, found just after the turn of the century a lay leader of some parts and much ambition in the person of a high school teacher with persuasive powers of speech, Dr. Joseph Kozdon. Advocating loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty as the road to success and happiness, he founded a weekly paper, published in the dialect and secretly backed by funds secured from various sources. A sort of "party" was called into being to which the name "Silesianers" was given, and in time a good many well-meaning people, as well as many time-servers, were enlisted. No finer example of what was twenty-five years later to be known as "the fifth column" could be found in Europe than these "Silesianers."

But the outbreak of war in 1914, while seeming to offer them a desired opportunity, also created problems. It roused most people to the realities of life as distinguished from appearance; above all it stirred up everywhere true nationalism. Both Czech and Polish allegiances had more of metal in them than this alloy of "Austrian patriotism," attractive as it looked on the surface. What is more, defeats suffered early in the struggle by the Habsburg armies at the hands of both the Russians and the Serbs fostered

doubts as to the viability of the Monarchy. Out of the crucible of war came a new controversy, or rather the sharpening of an already operating set of differences—those between the neighbour Slav peoples. This Polish-Czech dispute, at which Lloyd George was provoked, does not concern us here. It suffices to note that when the Allied Commission arrived in Teschen from Paris in late January, 1919, Dr. Kozdon and his helpers were proclaiming the gospel of a Silesian Switzerland in the heart of Europe, a creation that seemed easy enough, but which would, of course, have left the whole country in the hands of the big interests, i.e. the Germans. No such solution could stand serious examination, and the fate of Dr. Kozdon was pathetic. Having made himself impossible among his own people (he was born a Pole) and having now no Austria to cling to, he went over to the Czech side—the cause he had most denounced in pre-war days—and in due course got himself elected as Mayor of the Czech part of the city of Teschen!

And here I must close what is a very inadequate sketch of this curious no-man's land, a *piccolo mondo* more sinned against than sinning, whose fate it was to be divided on the line of the Olsa River, leaving more than 100,000 Poles outside their proper homeland. It would seem as though, in a Europe of almost strictly national frontiers, this small minority will in time become assimilated. In my view a better way would be for the two neighbour Slav peoples, both of them threatened by the Reich, to effect a federative union, and so move in the direction that seems to be dictated by both economic and cultural considerations. With this view, as experience has shown, the Kremlin does not agree, so for the present nothing can be done.



The Rights of Minorities in a Democracy

By C. B. SISSONS, F.R.S.C.

ON March 13, 1865, the debate in the Legislative Assembly of the Canadas, concerning the acceptance of the seventy-two Resolutions of the Quebec Conference as the instrument of Confederation, was drawing to a close. The question had been before the House for almost six weeks, and most of the members had entered the discussion. Already on February 20th the Legislative Council had accepted the Resolutions for its part, after debate in general on a high plane, although it was evident that a good many of the Councillors were not happy about this or that term. In the Assembly as the debate dragged on for three weeks more it became clear that no amendment to any one of the Resolutions would be accepted by the *ad hoc* Administration. They must be accepted entire, as a treaty, so it was stated, with the other contracting provinces. And a majority was assured. John A. Macdonald had seen to that by the manipulation of men and circumstances, for which he is justly and perhaps, as I think Professor Creighton is showing, mainly famous. But before the fateful question should be put to the House, the gaunt figure of a former leader of the Government rose.

John Sandfield Macdonald was a descendant of one of the early Highland Scotch Roman Catholics of that name who had settled in Glengarry about 1786. He was one of the oldest members in point of service. As long as he had chosen to do so, he had represented his native county, being known and recognized as *the Macdonald* of Glengarry. In 1857, his remaining lung now impaired, he had turned over the riding to a younger brother and become member for the smaller constituency of Cornwall, where he had long practised law. He and his brother were the only Catholic members from the Upper Province, of which he was to become the first premier and his brother fourth Lieutenant-Governor.

Now on March 13, 1865, he made the last, and hopelessly futile attempt to disturb the compromise effected by the Macdonald-Brown coalition in respect of education. He moved to amend Resolution 43 (6) which read: "The Local Legislature shall have power to make laws respecting the following subjects: . . . 6. Education; saving the rights and privileges which the Protestant or Catholic minority in both Canadas may possess as to their denominational schools, at the time when the union goes into operation." As it stood, this section embedded the *status quo*, as a minimum, in the constitution. Sandfield's amendment would have left to the local legislature of Upper Canada "the entire control and direction of

education, subject only to the approval or disapproval of the General Parliament." Here is the brief speech in which he supported his amendment:

I rise, sir, to propose another amendment. (Signs of impatience). I assure the House that I never knew a measure of anything like this importance go through with so few attempts to amend it. Nor do I rise for the mere purpose of putting my amendment on record, for I do feel that the views I am about to express, and which I have held ever since I have been a member of this House, may not commend themselves to any considerable number of hon. members. I have no desire that the rights of the Roman Catholic minority of Upper Canada shall be abridged, nor that the rights and privileges of any other denomination shall be interfered with in any respect. But I wish hon. members to bear in mind that the experience we have had in this country—not to allude to that of the neighboring States, proves that a denial of the right of the majority to legislate on any given matter has always led to grave consequences. I need only mention the Clergy Reserve question. This, it must be recollected, was forbidden to be legislated upon by the Union Act; yet it was the cause of fierce strife and legislation for many years. The original Constitution of the United States prohibited the question of slavery from being interfered with by Congress; yet an agitation for its suppression was early commenced, and has at last terminated in civil war. (Hear). The agitation of the Clergy Reserve question produced a rebellion in Upper Canada. I say, sir, that by making a constitutional restriction in respect to the schools of the minority, we are sowing the seeds from which will in the end arise a serious conflict, unless the Constitution be amended. The minority will be quite safe on a question relating to their faith and their education in a colony under the sway of the British Crown; but if you expressly withdraw that question from the control of the majority, the rights of the minority will not be safe in either section of the province, if you distrust the action of the majority. It is our duty, sir, to see that a question which affects us so dearly as the education of our children—a question which has before now created no little excitement in Upper Canada—shall not be withdrawn from the management of the Local Legislature. We ought not to deprive them of a power which they will want to exercise, just because they are deprived of it, and provoke a desire on their part to alter the system. You may rely upon it other religious bodies will be sure to protest against any particular creed having special rights, or an exclusive monopoly of certain privileges, whatever they may be. I should be astonished if any one in this House would say, either to the Protestant minority in Lower Canada or to the Roman Catholic minority in Upper Canada—"You are not to trust to the justice of the majority". Have they ever known a country where the majority did not control affairs, and where the minority had not to submit? Does not the majority rule and the minority submit in England and in France? I have never heard of any state where this was not the case. The minority is safe against undue encroachment on its rights, and I am willing to trust to the sense of justice of the majority in Upper Canada to preserve the religious and educational liberties of the Roman Catholics of Upper Canada. I am now getting somewhat advanced in years, and I am the more anxious to put my opinions on record, because before long I shall have the satisfaction of saying, though perhaps not on the floor of this House, that I protested against resolutions intended to prevent the free expression of opinion by the majority of the people of Upper Canada, and the exercise of a power which ought to be intrusted to them. My amendment is:—

That the following words be added to the original motion:—"And that it be an instruction to the said Committee to consider whether any constitutional restriction which shall exclude from the Local Legislature of Upper Canada the entire control and direction of education, subject only to the approval or disapproval of the General Parliament, is not calculated to create wide-spread dissatisfaction, and tend to foster and create jealousy and strife between the various religious bodies in that section of the province."

If hon. gentlemen think they are going to silence the bitter feelings which have been engendered in Upper Canada in consequence of the attempt to make permanent a certain system of education, they are much mistaken; and I desire to have the expression of the opinion of the members of this House on the subject, whether they think that the restriction in the proposed Constitution I have mentioned is calculated to bring about harmony, and whether it is not better to let the Catholics of Upper Canada and the Protestants of Lower Canada protect themselves, or rather trust for protection to the sense of justice of their fellow-subjects. (Hear).*

Alexander Mackenzie, whether of his own motion, or by arrangement, replying even more briefly, stated the position of those Upper Canadians who had followed George Brown into the coalition. He admitted he was "against the separate school system," but was "willing to accept this Confederation, even though it perpetuates a small number of separate schools." "We will not be in any worse position under the new system," he added, "and in one respect we will have a decided advantage, in that no further change can be made by the separate school advocates." Here, of course, he was mistaken. Resolution 43(6) did not preclude the extension of such privileges as existed at Confederation; it merely assured their continuance.

The vote followed immediately. Only seven members supported John Sandfield Macdonald, and Resolution 43(6) was fixed in the constitution of Canada as Section 93(1) of the British North America Act, alterable by means not yet discernible in this year of grace, but with one significant change. The phrase "rights and privileges" of the Resolution became "rights or privileges" in the Act.

To turn from the particular concession thus secured, was there validity in Sandfield's general contention? What rights can minorities have in a democracy? It is to be noted that he did not use the word "democracy." Even in 1865 it had hardly attained respectability. But that was the type of constitution he had in mind when he referred to the precedents of Great Britain, France, and the United States. His contention was that in such societies, under such constitutions, majorities must be permitted to rule; and that it is dangerous to fence off a certain area of rights or privileges for the benefit of any class or group or minority, and permanently to bar all access to it by the sovereign burgesses in their capacity as legislators.

At the outset, it is well to define the three terms we are using: democracy, minorities, rights.

Few words are so much on our lips as *democracy*, and few ideas so little in our understanding and practice. Fundamentally it is an attitude of society, not merely a form of government. For the most succinct definition

**Debates on Confederation of the British North American Provinces*, pp. 1025-6.

of the term we must go back twenty-five centuries to the Athenians, the inventors of democracy. In Book II, chapter 37, Thucydides puts into the mouth of Pericles a definition and description which in brevity and point has never been surpassed. "The name given it (our form of government) is democracy διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶς ὀλίγους ἀλλὰ εἰς πλείονας οἰκεῖν." Translators have had trouble with this bit of Greek, and Jowett, I think, is quite inadequate. Thucydides being a pioneer in political science had to forge his own tools in the matter of language. Here the difficulty is with the preposition εἰς or εἰς in conjunction with the verb οἰκεῖν, which connotes not merely "the administration," as Jowett has it, but the whole economy, social as well as political and constitutional. I prefer to translate it, "we call it a democracy because our whole system looks to the many and not to the few." But, lest certain disciples of John Dewey should find comfort in his words—if indeed they would ever think of turning to Thucydides—he hastens to add: "The claims of excellence are also recognized, and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred to the public service not as a matter of privilege, but as a reward for merit." Four principles are postulated for such a system: equality in the sight of the law, equality of political opportunity, freedom in its various aspects, and respect for law. In a society of this type, then, the citizens, each counting for one, assemble at pleasure, free to discuss and legislate either directly as in the old city states or through representatives as in our larger territorial states, and they cheerfully submit to laws which are theirs to make and to revise.

The term *minority* usually has a political application and refers to the lesser of two groups, as opposed to majority. It represents a fluid and unstable condition. The minority of today may be the majority of tomorrow, and under a democratic system where men are free to dispute and persuade, minorities will always be striving to turn themselves into majorities. The term, however, may be used of any relatively smaller group, religious, racial, or occupational. In the one case where it is to be found in the British North America Act, it is applied to a religious group. But always it is a fluid term, wanting in permanence; by process of the cradle or migration, the minority of today may become the majority of tomorrow.

The word *rights* stands in a similar category. There is a certain impermanence in our conception of rights. The founding fathers would doubtless have shied away from a Bill of Rights in specific terms. Their caution is indicated by the alteration of "rights and privileges" in the Resolutions to "rights or privileges" in the Act. May I take from Canadian experience two simple illustrations of the instability of the conception of "rights."

The first is from the area of property rights. In the middle of the last century an agitation was commenced in Upper Canada for free schools, that is, for elementary schools which should be supported by a general tax on property and not by fees paid by parents. A leading cleric of Toronto, who would have resented being classed as other than liberal, openly and bitterly opposed the campaign, branding such invasion of private rights as

communism. He cited the French Revolution as a warning of the "abyss to which this plausible socialism is enticing us." And not a few of his fellow-citizens saw their rights as did he. But a generation later it would have been difficult to find a rate-payer in Toronto to question the priority of right possessed by the children of the city over any rights of property.

Then in the wider area of freedom of action, or as Thomas Jefferson wrote, the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," our views in this country saw an even more sudden change. At the turn of the century two young men rushed off from my own college to the South African War. We bade them God-speed. When one of them returned wounded from Paardeburg, we chaired him and bore him aloft, chanting "The Soldiers of the Queen." But I think we regarded the war in the light of an adventure in which patriotism or a sense of duty had little part. Students were free to go or remain at their studies. Such was their right. Had any one predicted that within two decades all this would have been changed, we should have been incredulous. We should never have dreamed that young men would be ordered from their studies and marched off to foreign wars; that all the visions, all the ambitions of their own and their families would be regarded as having no valid claim of right as against the necessities of the state. In almost every case in my own college they did not wait then for the state to act. They saw it as their duty, as their right, to offer themselves. I recall one morning when one of the cheeriest of the undergraduates entered my office in uniform to bid me good-bye. He had everything to live for, health, talent, and a host of friends. But as he shook my hand he remarked, "You know I'm in the suicide squad, but it's all right." In other words, he had surrendered any claim to the pursuit of happiness, or to liberty, or to life itself. He did not return.

Rights, then, in any society are no more stable than the public conscience, which under a sensitive democratic constitution will find expression in changing laws.

When Resolution 43(6) was expanded in the British North America Act to the four subsections of Section 93, the word "minority" appeared once in the text, the word "rights" twice, in each case attended by the alternative "privileges." You take your choice. The word "minority" of the Resolutions is replaced by "class of persons" in subsection (1)7 of the Act. The text reads: "Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the province at the Union." Every word in this famous sentence has been combed over again and again in the courts. "Class of persons" especially lent itself to litigation until the Privy Council ruled that it had religious, not language, implications. Perhaps the plural "have" received less than due notice; following "class of persons" it suggests individual citizens rather than tightly organized groups. Would anything have been lost, except lawyers' fees, had the founding fathers abandoned "class of persons" as they abandoned "minority" and sanctioned the simple

phrase "any one of the Queen's subjects"? The right, or privilege, of each Catholic was to join, or not to join, with a stipulated number of his neighbours in the establishment and partial management and support of a separate elementary school situated within three miles of his home.

The solitary appearance of the word "minority" in the Act is in subsection (3): "Where in any Province a system of separate or dissentient schools exists by law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any act or decision of any provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education." Again what would the statute have lost if the fluid word "minority" had been dropped, and the reading been "any right or privilege of any of the Queen's subjects, Protestant or Roman Catholic, in relation to education?" Another criticism may be made of the phrasing of this section. The word "system" ("system of separate or dissentient schools") is loosely and thus improperly used. The separate schools of Ontario do not constitute a system. There is only one system of public education in Ontario, presided over by a Minister of the Crown, administered by a Department as to curriculum, inspection, and text-books. This has been amply demonstrated in all Privy Council decisions. Separate schools fall within this system. The loose phrasing of the Act has tended to support the illusion of an "imperium in imperio."

Leaving the B.N.A. Act for the moment, I should like to cite another incident in our history. This, too, involves religious scruples and education, and illustrates the unwisdom of seeking to confer special privileges on a minority in perpetuity. Some sixty years ago the Government of Canada became convinced that the western plains needed above all things strong backs, other considerations being secondary. Professor James Mavor, as a friend of Count Tolstoi, persuaded the authorities to come to the rescue of a certain sect called Doukhobors ("spirit-wrestlers") whose tenets appealed to Tolstoi and who had been exposed to persecution in Trans-Caucasian Russia. They were promised asylum in Canada, with immunity from military service and complete religious freedom. This they interpreted as protecting them from formal education. When Saskatchewan became a province and schools invaded their sanctuary, a large part of the colony sequestered itself in the valleys of southern British Columbia. After more than half a century a majority of these interesting and industrious people have learned to conform to our ways, but a stiff-necked minority has continued to flout the law. It may be doubted whether the motives of this group are at present predominantly religious. But the long chapter of violence and punishment is eloquent of the danger which attends not legislation in this case but executive action which may fairly be interpreted as conferring permanent rights on a religious or racial minority.

Sandfield Macdonald's forebodings of trouble for Ontario have scarcely been realized. He predicted that other religious bodies would "be sure to

protest against any particular creed having special rights or an exclusive monopoly of certain privileges." This has occurred only to a limited extent. Bishop Strachan was forced at length to recognize that his cherished plan of separate Church of England schools with state support was impossible of achievement. As it proved, a diminishing group of his clergy and a still smaller proportion of laymen were prepared to follow him in this remnant of his policy of exclusiveness. In general, non-Catholics were content that they had pooled their resources in support of a common system of public education, and their feelings towards those who chose to separate were rather of compassion than of envy or hostility. Bitterness, where it has been in evidence, has rather been between racial groups within the Roman Catholic body. The first outbreak was at St. Raphael's in the Scottish settlement in Glengarry, as the trek of the habitants reached that cradle of Roman Catholicism in the Upper Province. But it was at Ottawa that differences became most acute. In 1904 an Irish school trustee named Grattan appealed to the courts against an ambitious plan of the Christian Brothers, a French order, to build a residential school. The case ascended the courts to the Privy Council; Grattan's objection was sustained, and the project was abandoned. Within the next ten years, from being a minority within a minority, the French-speaking members of the Ottawa Separate School Board became distinctly a majority within the minority. Animosity grew apace. Regulation 17 was fulminated. The Chairman of the School Board called his teachers out of the schools. Again the courts resounded. But Sam Genest and his associates of French speech on the Board were to witness the failure of Sir John Simon, the ablest of British counsel, to convince their Lordships that the French citizens of Ottawa were a "class of persons" in the sense of the Act. In the last thirty years two other appeals under Section 93 have reached the Privy Council, the Tiny Township case having to do with secondary education, and the Ford Motor Company of Windsor case concerning corporation taxes. In both cases the decision has been adverse to the Roman Catholic claim of right.

Thus far, apart from the Ottawa school strike, the differences of opinion on Section 93 have been urged in Ontario with a proper respect for processes of law. It is to be noted that no individual, no "class of persons" has made use of subsection 3, which provided for an appeal to the Governor-General in Council. Nor has remedial legislation by Ottawa, under subsection 4, been attempted for Ontario; it was employed in Manitoba with catastrophic results. Both of these avenues have always been open. Of course something approaching an appeal to the federal authorities was made in 1916. Under the lash of Regulation 17, a resolution was presented in the Commons and a full-dress debate precipitated, which was distinguished by one of Sir Wilfred Laurier's last great speeches and by the dictum of Paul Lamarche that to the French people of Canada to learn French is a duty, to learn English, a necessity.

Now, with appeals to the Privy Council abolished, and the right to

amend our own constitution established, we are thrown entirely on our own resources. Section 93 cannot stand forever. It fastened on the province of Ontario specific terms embodied in the Separate School Act of 1863. Certain of these terms have been rendered inequitable by the changed economic and physical conditions of today. These should be amended, but without any impairment of the two principles fundamental to the Act of 1863, namely that separate schools are a concession to conscience—a matter of individual choice—and that the State, as represented by the Legislature, has full authority over courses of study, inspection, and text-books. Complete rigidity, the attempt to maintain specific privileges at the point where they stood in 1863, must eventually be abandoned. In this respect John Sandfield Macdonald was on solid ground. In a living society, controlled by the will of the people, minorities must depend on persuading majorities of the justice of their cause. This flexibility is the bulwark and flower of the British system. Here at least we may build in its image.



French Settlement West of Lake Superior

By GEORGE F. G. STANLEY, F.R.S.C.

IN Canada, west of Lake Superior, three elements of the French-speaking population have contributed in varying degrees to the maintenance of the French fact; the métis, the French Canadians, and the French-speaking immigrants from Europe.

I

The movement of Frenchmen to the west began with the founding of Canada itself. This movement was, in fact, but a continuation of that self-same migratory movement which had brought the French to the shores of North America in the first place. Impelled by the spirit of adventure, by the desire to participate in the profits of the fur trade, by the will to save souls, or by the simple necessity of earning a living, French Canadians followed the Ottawa and French rivers to Georgian Bay, past Sault Ste Marie, along the shores of Lake Superior, over the height of land and along the waterways leading to Lake Winnipeg and the Great Plains. Champlain himself started this western movement and others followed his example: Radisson, Groseilliers, DuLhut, la Tourette, Noyon, la Vérendrye, Noyelle, Niverville, and la Corne—their names spring readily to our minds. It was these men, their associates and companions, who, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, carried the French fact in North America as far west as the Rocky Mountains. Throughout the western area they built their little trading posts—for trade, not settlement, was the motive of expansion—posts which extended from DuLhut's fort on Thunder Bay in 1678 to Fort la Jonquière erected on the banks of one of the Saskatchewan rivers in 1751.

The actual number of men involved in these enterprises was small. When la Vérendrye set out in 1731 he had fifty *engagés* with him. In 1743, twelve years later, the *Répertoire des congés de traite* listed only fifty-three engagements for the west and eighteen for Kaministiquia. In 1758 the *Répertoire* mentions ninety-one engagements. Since licences were not renewed annually it is probably close to the truth to say that, by the end of the *Ancien Régime*, there may have been about 150 to 200 French Canadians scattered throughout the vast region west of Lake Superior.

With the middle of the eighteenth century and the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe and in North America, French expansion in the western territories came temporarily to a halt. Every man was needed

at the battle front and the traders returned to the valley of the St. Lawrence to defend their homeland against the invading armies of Amherst and Wolfe. Even so the French fact remained established in the west. More than the memory of French achievements remained; more too than the early French place-names bestowed hither and yon by the early trader-travellers; some of the winterers themselves remained. To them the fortress of Quebec was far far away, and to them the political ramifications of the Anglo-French world struggle had little meaning. These isolated elements of French civilization, dispersed over a wide area and living with and like the Indians, carried the flickering torch of French survival during the critical period of transition between the overlordship of Louis XV and that of George III.

The transition period was, however, only a short one. With the return of peace came the return of the traders and the voyageurs from Canada. There were Scots and New Englanders among them, but French Canadians too came in considerable numbers. In 1786 William Tomison of the Hudson's Bay Company believed that there were no fewer than 400 French Canadians west of the Grand Portage. This was no vagrant, transitory population. Some of the traders doubtless looked forward to a peaceful old age on the banks of the St. Lawrence; but there were others for whom such visions rapidly grew dim. Contacts with the St. Lawrence grew more and more tenuous; only a few days each year did the *hivernants* renew their contacts with the *mangeurs de lard* from Canada when they exchanged their cargoes of furs for the cargoes of goods from Montreal. Accordingly many French Canadians abandoned the idea of returning to the villages of their childhood; they chose to or were compelled by circumstances to establish themselves permanently in the new solitudes of the west. These people were the *gens libres*, the freemen who served the fur companies at the various posts as hunters and petty traders. These were the men of the type of Jean-Baptiste Lagimodière, grandfather of Louis Riel, who brought Marie-Anne Gaboury, the first white woman of the west, to Red River as his bride in 1807. Adaptable though they were to the nomadic existence of the Indians, the freemen still clung to the elements of sedentary life. They gathered in groups at those localities where cultivation on a small scale was possible. Alexander Henry mentions the existence of such a group at Pembina in 1807; Selkirk's settlers found at the junction of the Red and the Assiniboine a French settlement which Miles Macdonnell estimated at 200 souls. With the arrival of the Abbés Provencher and Dumoulin at Red River in 1818, both of these groups were served by missionaries from Quebec who not only directed the spiritual exercises of their flocks, but testified to the continued existence of the French fact in the west.

By this date, however, the French settlements in the west were acquiring a new and different character. During their years in the west many of the wintering traders and voyageurs had taken unto themselves Indian wives.

Lagimodière in seeking his wife in Canada was the exception rather than the rule. Through the process of *métissage* there grew up a large mixed-blood population which we call the *métis*, or "New Nation."

It is impossible to say when or how rapidly *métissage* developed in the west. It attracted little or no comment on the part of contemporaries during the seventeenth century. Men like DuLhut and la Vérendrye make no reference to it, despite the fact that there must have been *métis* among the canoe-men and others who served them. From the records of the Hudson's Bay Company, however, it seems clear that there was a well-defined French-speaking *métis* group in the west by the middle of the eighteenth century.

This *métis* population grew in numbers. Some among them became identified with the Indian nations with whom they were allied by ties of blood. Others became identified with the freemen. They lived in semi-sedentary colonies serving the fur companies as hunters, voyageurs, guides, and interpreters. They intermarried among themselves and with the freemen, and through intermarriage acquired a solidarity and identity separate both from the Indians and from the whites. By the opening of the nineteenth century the fixation of the *métis* group was complete and we have the appearance of such well-known *métis* family names as Breland, Vandal, Cardinal, Delorme, Dumont, Beaulieu, Deschamps, and others.

Equally significant with the fixation of the *métis* was the development of its consciousness of its own identity as a racial group. The story of this development and of the role played by the North West Company in stimulating the idea of racial consciousness among the *métis* is a familiar one. The immediate result was the conflict between the *métis* and the Selkirk settlers which led to Seven Oaks in 1816; the more remote result was the rising in 1869 associated with the name of Louis Riel. The *métis* individually and as a group might speak French; they might look back to some vague ancestry in Canada; but they thought and acted as *métis*, not as French Canadians. They might harbour some sentimental feeling for French Canada; but the barriers of geography and Company policy prevented them from drawing strength from the original source of their fathers. When Red River was opened as a colony for Company servants and their families, the *métis* became fixed geographically as well as racially. Red River became a half-breed, a *métis* colony. The Frenchness of the *métis* was submerged in their consciousness of identity as *métis*. Only in their language and in their Catholicism did they perpetuate the French fact—their culture, their way of life, their habits of thought were conditioned by their environment and their Indian origin far more than by any sentimental attachment to Quebec.

It was the tragedy of the *métis* that their culture, a distinctly primitive, simple, non-competitive culture, was unable to withstand the absorption of their country by Canada in 1869-70. Louis Riel, and those who encouraged him, realized what it would mean—they had broader experience and greater vision. That is why they sought, through armed resistance, to

secure guarantees for their lands and their customs. It was an even greater tragedy that the métis struggle for survival in 1869 became identified so completely in the minds of the people and politicians of Canada with the traditional rivalries of French and English on the St. Lawrence. This distortion of history accentuated existing confusion when the two language-groups of old Canada became the self-appointed champions of Louis Riel and Thomas Scott. And the struggle was not resolved until the collapse of the North West Rebellion. With the defeat of the métis and the execution of Louis Riel in 1885 the New Nation disintegrated.

Today the remnants of the New Nation constitute a social group destitute, defenceless, paralysed by a sense of inferiority and defeat. The Anglo-Saxon, with his customary concept of his own inherent racial superiority, is rarely inclined to treat the half-breed as an equal; the French Canadian is anxious to dispel the prevailing English tendency to identify him with the métis group. There are, it is true, conspicuous examples of complete assimilation on the part of some métis to the culture of the whites, more in the Red River valley than in the outlying communities in Manitoba and in the other western provinces. But these are the exception. On the whole the métis have become, in our society, a marginal group. They do not seem to be able to adjust themselves to the culture either of the Indians or of the whites.

II

Had the French fact in Western Canada been wholly dependent upon the French-speaking métis, it is unlikely that it would ever have survived defeat in 1885. The métis had neither deep roots in nor the strong traditions of French culture. That the French fact did manage to survive the advent of Confederation was due to the French Canadians, and above all to the French Canadian clergy. The real defenders of the French cause during these first critical years after 1869-70 were not the Lepines, the Delormes, the Parenteaus, the Poitras, but the Tâchés and the Ritchots. It was Archbishop Tâché who, in October 1869, complained to Sir George Cartier of the overwhelmingly English composition of the government which was being sent by Sir John A. Macdonald to Red River. His words were revealing and sadly prophetic: "Nos pères ont découvert tous ces pays, ils les ont arrosés de leur sueurs et même de leur sang . . . j'ai toujours redouté l'entrée du Nord-Ouest dans la Confédération, parce que j'ai toujours cru que l'élément français catholique serait sacrifié." It was Archbishop Tâché who inserted the demand for separate schools in Riel's List of Rights; and it was the Abbé Ritchot who conducted the negotiations with Sir George Cartier for the entry of Red River into the Canadian federation. Tâché and the western clergy might hope to identify the métis with the French cause, but they had few real illusions about the strength of the métis group. If the French fact were to survive, it would require a transfusion of vigorous French Canadian blood from Quebec. Accord-

ingly, Tâché and others persuaded several distinguished young French Canadians to leave the old province of Quebec and migrate to Manitoba during the summer of 1870. These were Joseph Dubuc, Marc Girard, Joseph Royal, and Alphonse LaRivière. Each of them was to play an important role in the political life of western Canada; all of them were to be in the front rank of the defenders of the French cause west of Lake Superior.

But a cause without supporters has no strength, no matter how inspired the leadership. Tâché therefore turned his attention to the task of persuading men to leave their homes in the heart of French Canada and settle on the periphery. Expanding industrialization and mid-nineteenth century prosperity in the United States had already attracted a large number of French Canadians from the austerity of Canada to the fleshpots of the United States. Efforts were being made to stem the tide by directing colonization towards the Eastern Townships, Beauce, and Lac Saint-Jean; the curé Labelle, "le roi du nord," had opened up the country north of Montreal—perhaps some of these colonists, these potential emigrants to the United States, might be diverted towards the western plains where land was free, farming was easy (easy at least when compared with that in the colonization areas of Quebec), and where they were badly needed to maintain the French-speaking population in the face of the growing strength of English-speaking immigration from England and Ontario. "Le nombre va nous faire défaut," wrote Tâché, "et comme sous notre système constitutionnel les nombres sont la force, nous allons nous trouver à la merci de ceux qui ne nous aiment pas."

During twenty-five years Tâché never relaxed his efforts. He circularized the clergy of Quebec; he wrote to various bishops for assistance; he appealed to private individuals. In 1872 he sent Father Proulx to Quebec "pour chercher des émigrants et des acheteurs des terres catholiques." Several years later he sent Father Lacombe on a similar mission both to Quebec and to the French settlements in the United States.

But Tâché's efforts met only with a limited success. Not only did he find that French Canadians intent upon going to the United States wanted factory jobs not farm labour, but he found that his efforts were actively opposed both in political and in clerical circles in Quebec. Emigration to the United States had alarmed many of the spiritual and lay leaders of French Canada. Quebec was in danger of losing its strength. If the people of Quebec were encouraged to go to Manitoba the homeland would suffer. Archbishop Bourget and curé Labelle had their own colonization schemes. They wanted to fill up the vacant spaces in Quebec before expanding to other parts of Canada. Their constant refrain was, "Emparons-nous du sol de Québec d'abord." Only from the Bishops of Three Rivers and Rimouski did Tâché receive any positive encouragement.

Moreover, the treatment accorded Riel and the métis, both of whom were completely identified in Quebec eyes with French Canada, was not

such as would encourage immigration to the west. "Les nôtres trouvent ailleurs des obstacles à leur foi et à leur nationalité; pourquoi iraient-ils où ils courront le danger de perdre leur religion et leur langue?" The controversy over the fate of Riel led directly to the emergence of the nationalist Mercier, and Mercier, with his new deputy minister of colonization, curé Labelle, was not disposed to favour emigration to the English-dominated prairies.

What French Canadian colonists came to the west did so largely as a result of the efforts of Father Lacombe, Father Morin, and other priests, as well as those of Charles Lalime, a young lawyer who was appointed federal immigration agent as a direct result of Tâché's importunities at Ottawa. But the bulk of these colonists came, not from Quebec, but from the United States; from Worcester, Manchester, Woonsocket, and other New England towns where French Canadians had settled in great numbers during the earlier part of the nineteenth century. In 1876, 105 colonists arrived in St. Boniface. In 1877, 600 set out for the west to settle along the Red River south of Ste Agathe. Wrote Tâché to Bishop Grandin at St. Albert, "Tous nos métis nous quittent ici. Heureusement qu'il nous arrive des Canadiens; autrement nous serions noyés à ne plus jamais reparaître." In 1878 Lalime brought another 423 settlers to Manitoba. In the years following, French Canadian settlements grew up further west, about St. Albert, Morinville, Falher, and in British Columbia at Maillardville. These are but a few; there is no need to list them all.

These occasional contingents of settlers were but small dribbles in the great tide of immigration during the years prior to 1914. Nevertheless they provided the backbone and body of the French fact in the west. Without them the French cause would have been lost. Their quality was good—we have only to think of men like T. A. Bernier and L. A. Prudhomme—and their cause was just.

III

The third element of the French fact consists of the French-speaking settlers from Europe who made their way to western Canada after the opening of the prairies to settlement. To encourage the settlement of Frenchmen from France was also part of Tâché's plan; but, like his efforts to stimulate a large-scale immigration from Quebec, his hopes for extensive immigration from France were never realized. On two occasions the curé Labelle was sent to France by the Canadian Government to interest prospective immigrants in the opportunities available in Canada. Following his visit in 1885, sixty delegates, including a number of prominent journalists, visited Canada in August to see for themselves the country about which Labelle had spoken; eleven of them survived the round of receptions in the province of Quebec to extend their Canadian journey to St. Boniface in September, despite the dampening effect of the impending execution of the Franco-métis chief, Louis Riel. The visiting journal-

ists were enthusiastic; far more enthusiastic than were the officials of the French Government. France had only just emerged from defeat at the hands of the Germans in the Franco-Prussian War and emigration was regarded as a debilitating process for France, just as it had been so regarded in Quebec. The fact was that, although the French had listened with interest to Labelle, their interest had been prompted less by the possibilities for new settlement for French emigrants than by the possibilities afforded by Canada as a potential market for French wines and produce. That, at least, was the object of the several industrialists and men of commerce who followed Labelle to Canada in 1885. Moreover, Canadian immigration propaganda laid its chief emphasis upon Quebec; Manitoba and the Northwest rated only a second and third priority. Labelle himself declared, "Je préfère mon Nord au Nord-Ouest"; and for him "le Nord" was always in Quebec province.

Nevertheless some French settlers did come to western Canada. In 1883 two noblemen established ranches along the shores of Lake Manitoba. In 1889 Fannystelle was founded southwest of Winnipeg. Other colonies, French and Belgian, were founded at St. Claude, Notre Dame de Lourdes, and St. Léon. Further west in Saskatchewan were Montmartre and St. Hubert—the latter, a colony founded in 1893 by a group of French aristocrats, was the French counterpart of the English colony of Cannington Manor. An area to the north was opened up for French settlement between Duck Lake and Domrémy. This area was settled largely by people from Brittany. In Alberta French and Belgian colonies were established at Trochu, Tinchebray, and Chauvin.

It is difficult from the census reports to distinguish between French Canadian and French immigration to the west, but the following figures will show the rate of growth of the French-speaking population between 1901 and 1911.

<i>Province</i>	<i>1901</i>	<i>1911</i>
Manitoba	16,961	30,944
Saskatchewan	2,790	24,789
Alberta	4,665	21,094

The French and Belgian settlements in the west did not retain a distinct and separate identity. The first generation might be inclined to keep to itself but the second generation rapidly became assimilated to the French Canadian community. Assimilation was, in fact, their only salvation. The European French were too few in numbers; they were too weak a stalk to flourish except as a graft to a strong Canadian root; and when war broke out in 1914 many of the French settlers, reservists in the French army, went back to the old land to fight in her defence and never again returned to Canada. The names of 158 of those who gave their lives for their Fatherland, France, are recorded on the monument erected to their memory in the churchyard of St. Boniface—a perpetual testimony of their loss to

Canada. In a few words, the contribution of the French settlers to French survival is significant only in so far as they became identified with the French Canadians and added numbers to the French Canadian minority.

IV

On the whole the French fact in western Canada is weak numerically even if strong in spirit. Out of a total population of 3,712,980 in the western provinces, only 216,054 people are classified as of French origin, with the largest number, 66,020, in Manitoba and the smallest, 41,919, in British Columbia. It is a small group constituting only seven-tenths of 1 per cent of the total western population, and only 5 per cent of the whole French-speaking population of Canada.

The remarkable feature of this group is its survival as a distinct group, as an integral part of the larger cultural expression, French Canada. It has met with opposition on every side. Manitoba set the pace with the controversial school legislation of the 1890's which broke the bilingual school system established when Manitoba became a province of the Canadian federation. The school controversies in the Northwest Territories served to sharpen antagonisms until French, the first language of the whites in western Canada, is now almost a proscribed tongue with no official political status and taught on sufferance but one hour a day (i.e. in Saskatchewan and Alberta, not in Manitoba). Such restrictions may be quite constitutional, but to many they appear as a violation of the spirit of the federative act of 1867. And the controversies still persist, if we are to judge from the recent events at Maillardville in British Columbia, and from the protests aroused by an extension of radio facilities for the French population in the west.

It is one of the paradoxes of French survival that in the east, inside Quebec, the French Canadian felt that it was only through his province that he could fully realize himself within his own culture. To the Québécois the province was the best if not the only guarantee of French Canadian survival. Outside Quebec, however, the province has worked against French survival. The French Canadian of the west had to fight against the province for his rights as one of a minority group. He had to rely upon the federal authority as the guardian of minority rights. Thus the French Canadians of the west were, from an early date, inclined to look, not to their several provinces, but to Canada as a whole, as the guarantor of their cultural security. It is on the federal level, rather than on the provincial level, that the western French Canadian realizes the most complete expression of his political personality. Provincial autonomy, as far as the French fact in Canada is concerned, has been a double-edged sword.

However, opposition to the French fact has had results which the proponents of anti-French legislation did not anticipate. This very opposition served to give bone and sinew to French survival. Without controversy to

harden the sense of separate identity it is doubtful whether the small French community in the west would have been as successful as it has been in pulling itself together and in maintaining its identity in the face of overwhelming numbers. The French Canadians have survived adversity because they have needed adversity in order to survive. Religion and language are powerful forces of cohesion; but of no small significance has been the existence of a foe against whom to do battle. Opposition to the janissaries of English Protestantism rallied the French community around those symbols of unity, Church and language. Had there been no rallying cry to fight or die, to survive or be assimilated, the melting-pot would have been a reality rather than a threat. What strength the various provincial "Associations Catholiques Franco-Canadiens" have enjoyed has been due in large measure to the fact that they have had a cause to fight for and an enemy to fight against. Persecution may discourage a race which lacks vigour and conviction—that was the fate of the *métis*—but it gives life and force to a group conscious of its mission in history and strong in its will to survive.

The first of these is the fact that the world is not a uniform whole, but a collection of many different parts, each of which has its own characteristics and its own history. This is the case with the human world, which is made up of many different peoples, each of whom has its own customs, its own language, and its own way of life. It is the task of the historian to study these different peoples and to understand the reasons for their differences. This is a difficult task, for the historian must not only study the facts of history, but he must also try to understand the minds of the people who lived in the past. This is why the historian must be a student of human nature, and why he must be able to put himself in the place of the people of the past.

The second of these is the fact that the world is not a static whole, but a dynamic whole, which is constantly changing. This is the case with the human world, which is always in the process of development. The customs, the language, and the way of life of the people of the past are different from those of the people of the present, and they will be different from those of the people of the future. It is the task of the historian to study these changes and to understand the reasons for them.

The third of these is the fact that the world is not a simple whole, but a complex whole, which is made up of many different parts, each of which is connected to the others. This is the case with the human world, which is a complex of many different peoples, each of whom is connected to the others by many different ties. It is the task of the historian to study these connections and to understand the reasons for them.

The fourth of these is the fact that the world is not a perfect whole, but an imperfect whole, which is full of many different kinds of evil. This is the case with the human world, which is full of many different kinds of evil, each of which has its own causes and its own effects. It is the task of the historian to study these evils and to understand the reasons for them.

The fifth of these is the fact that the world is not a whole, but a part of a larger whole. This is the case with the human world, which is a part of the larger world of the universe. It is the task of the historian to study the human world and to understand its place in the larger world.

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